DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 283 925 UD 025 636

AUTHOR Human, Linda; And Others
TITLE Occupational Mobility and Wage Differentiation: A Qualitative Study. HSRC Investigation into Manpower Issues: Manpower Studies No. 6.
INSTITUTION Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria (South Africa).
REPORT NO ISBN-0-7968-0384-0
PUB DATE 86
NOTE 109p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC05 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Aspiration; *Black Employment; Blacks; Comparable Worth; *Equal Opportunities (Jobs); Foreign Countries; Labor Market; Occupational Mobility; Personnel Policy; Political Influences; *Racial Discrimination; Racial Relations; *Salary Wage Differentials; Whites
IDENTIFIERS *Apartheid; Life Goals; *South Africa

ABSTRACT

This study, the third of three undertaken by the School of Business Leadership at the University of South Africa, involves an analysis of wage differentiation and occupational mobility at the microlevel among blacks in a number of South African companies. The report argues that the political, legal, economic and social factors which impinge on both occupational mobility and equal pay for work of equal value can be understood in terms of discrimination which results from the interplay of class interests and norms relating to status, prestige, and identity. This discrimination is analytically divided into two main areas--before the market discrimination and within the market discrimination. The restrictions, which characterize employment patterns and wages in South Africa today, are assessed against the background of the following features of the society: (1) white domination of the upper categories of employment; (2) legislation which controls employment patterns, particularly for Africans; (3) segregated educational institutions, housing, and neighborhoods, with whites in the most favorable positions; (4) white control of central political institutions and the present ruling party; (5) attempts by the state in recent years to restructure certain aspects of the class or racial system; and (6) existence of a group of higher status blacks who confront the serious problems of the society. (PS)

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Occupational mobility and wage differentiation: A qualitative study

Linda Human
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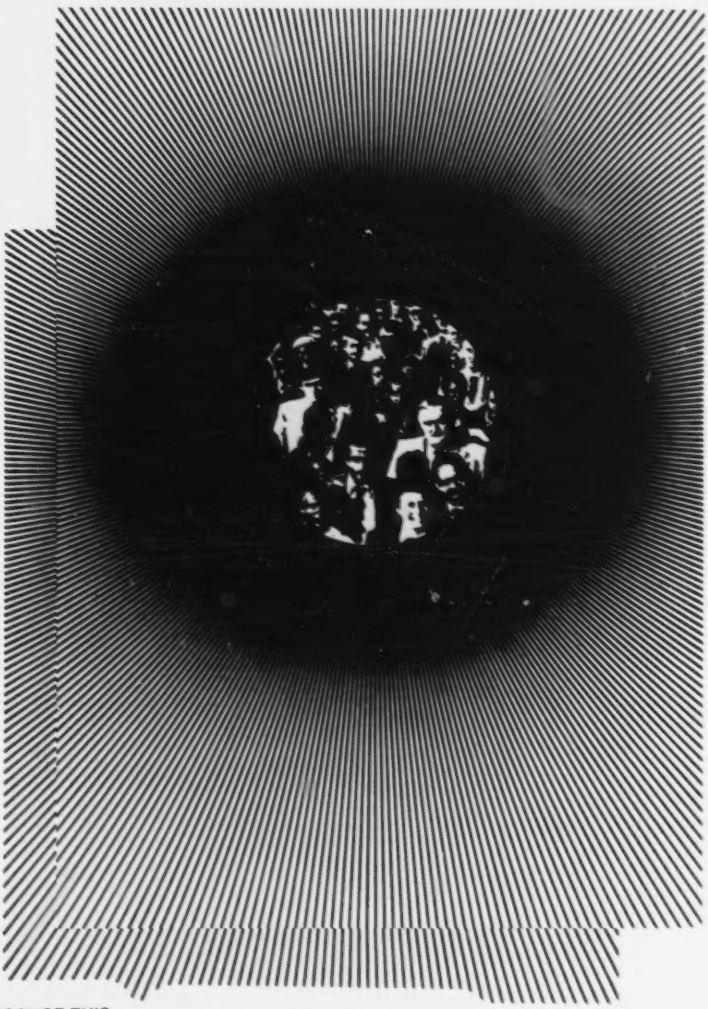

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Human Sciences Research Council
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The opinions expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of either the HSRC or of the Steering Committee of the HSRC Investigation into Manpower Issues

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ISBN 0 7969 0384 0

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Cover design by Lynette Hearne
Printed and published by the HSRC

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All researchers incur debts of gratitude in the course of their work on a particular project. In this case, our greatest debt is to people who, unfortunately, cannot be named - the managers and employees of the companies that agreed to participate in the study. We thank them for their time, openness and willingness to accommodate us despite the disruption it caused to their work. Without their unstinting co-operation, the project could not have been undertaken.

We also thank Eeufesia Maré for the swift and efficient typing to which we have grown accustomed.

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SAMEVATTING

Hierdie ondersoek behels 'n ontleding van loondifferensiasie en beroepsmobiliteit onder Swartes in 'n aantal Suid-Afrikaanse maatskappye. Die doel met die studie is om die beroepsmobiliteit en loondifferensiasie van Swartes deeglik en uit verskillende hoeke op mikrovlak te ondersoek.

In die verslag word aangevoer dat die politieke, ekonomiese, sosiale en regsfaktore wat op beide die beroepsmobiliteit en gelyke betaling vir gelyke werk inbreuk maak, verstaan kan word in terme van diskriminasie wat die gevolg is van die wisselwerking tussen klassebelange en norms wat op status, prestige en identiteit betrekking het.

Die beperkings op mobiliteit en gelyke besoldiging sowel as die sosiopolitieke implikasies van beide verhoogde mobiliteit en die institusionalisering van gelyke besoldiging vir gelyke werk word teen die agtergrond van 'n aantal kenmerke van huidige indiensnemingspatrone en lone in Suid-Afrika opgeweeg.

ABSTRACT

This study involves an analysis of wage differentiation and occupational mobility among Blacks in a number of South African companies. The objective of the study may be regarded as the in-depth and multifaceted examination of Black occupational mobility and wage differentiation at the microlevel.

In the report it is argued that the political, legal, economic and social factors which impinge on both occupational mobility and equal pay for work of equal value can be understood in terms of discrimination which results from the interplay of class interests and norms relating to status, prestige and identity.

The restrictions to mobility and equal pay as well as the sociopolitical implications of both increased mobility and the institutionalization of equal pay for work of equal value are assessed against the background of a number of features by which employment patterns and wages in South Africa today are characterized.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

South Africa, as we all know, is a society characterized by inequality. Racial barriers preventing equal access to the means of acquiring power, wealth, status, education and skills have led to an unequal distribution of wealth and power along racial lines. Black[1)] people, in general, have been excluded from positions of power and status; they have generally been restricted to levels on the occupational hierarchy below those occupied by Whites and are paid less than Whites in the few jobs where the races overlap. Indeed, political and economic dominance, cultural and racial exclusivism, and legal and status differences have historically all tended to reinforce each other so producing a clearly defined racial occupational hierarchy. This hierarchy, in turn, has been characterized by little racial overlap in occupational and wage structures, Coloureds and Asians occupying an intermediate position between Whites and Africans.

In the last decade, however, the need for change in this occupational structure has been mooted. The 1976 Soweto uprising, the pressure from international companies for equal job opportunities and equal pay for work of equal value irrespective of race, the report of the Wiehahn Commission, the school boycotts and the skills shortage are all factors that have played a role in the decision by the State and by the private sector to restructure certain aspects of the class or racial system in general and of the occupational hierarchy in particular. Thus, even though a maze of laws and regulations - combined with custom and tradition - continue to ensure White control in the common economy and to limit Black mobility, attempts are being made to develop a relatively skilled and privileged urban workforce and to reduce both pay and occupational differences between the various population groups. Although this movement is still very much in its early stages and few dramatic in-roads have yet been made, it would appear that many organizations

1)When the word "Black" is used in this report it refers to the population groups Black, Coloured and Asian. (Editor)

are becoming increasingly aware of the need for Black advancement and for the equalization of pay structures across racial lines (Human et al., 1984).

This study represents the third of three studies undertaken by the School of Business Leadership, University of South Africa as part of the HSRC Investigation into Manpower Issues.

The first of these studies provides a comprehensive overview of the literature relating to occupational mobility and wage differentiation in South Africa (Human et al., 1984). In this report, it is argued that the political, legal, economic and social factors which impinge on both occupational mobility and equal pay for work of equal value can be understood in terms of discrimination where discrimination results from the interplay of class interests and norms relating to status, prestige and identity. Such discrimination is, moreover, analytically divided into two main areas - before the market discrimination and within the market discrimination.

By employing the dichotomy between before the market discrimination and within the market discrimination throughout the report, it is argued that employment patterns and wages in South Africa today are characterized by the following features:

(1) The overall occupational structure remains one in which Whites dominate the upper categories of employment out of proportion to their participation in the labour force and the other race groups, and in particular Africans, are over-represented in the lower categories of employment. Shifts have and are taking place in the occupational structure, however, as greater numbers of Blacks move into higher categories of employment. For all three of the Black racial groups, movement has taken place mainly in the sales and clerical occupations. It is, moreover, the female members of the African, Asian and Coloured groups who are making the greatest in-roads into these two occupational categories. Blacks remain under-represented in professional and managerial positions and their proportional participations has been slow to increase.

Although large and dramatic percentage increases in Black (and especially female) participation in certain occupational categories have been recorded, absolute numbers and participation rates - relative to overall participation in the labour force - remain small. A further qualification which must be borne in mind is that much of the Black increase in professional participation is due to the large and increasing numbers of teachers and nurses. For women, this represents employment in the traditional female occupations and, for the Black group as a whole, employment in the lower status, lower paying professions. At the same time large but declining proportions of Coloureds and Africans (particularly men) are employed in the agricultural sector and small increases have been recorded in Black participation in the artisan/apprentice category.

There is more upward than downward intergenerational mobility amongst Africans. Such mobility is taking place among those from unskilled origins who obtain jobs in the clerical, blue-collar, technical and skilled manual occupational categories. This movement has been due to an increased demand for employees in these occupations and a reduction in the demand for unskilled labour. There also exists a fairly high degree of intragenerational occupational stability. Postschool education and first job were shown to be the most important determinants of occupational attainment. Legal status was also positively and fairly strongly associated with both education and occupation; there was less intergenerational upward mobility among those with "weak" legal status (Schneier, 1983).

(2) A vast amount of legislation which controls employment patterns, particularly with respect to Africans (Human et al., 1984. Chapter 7).

(3) Almost completely segregated educational institutions, housing and neighbourhoods, with Whites in the most favourable position followed by Indians and Coloureds and, at an extreme disadvantage, Africans (Human et al., 1984, Chapters 5 and 6).

(4) The central political institutions of the country are controlled by Whites and the present ruling party has a largely Afrikaans power-

base. "Afrikaans-speaking Whites have a slightly but significantly lower overall level of occupational attainment in terms of skills than English-speaking Whites and are also predominant in the public sector" (Schlemmer 1976 : 32). At the same time, however, if one were to combine Afrikaner private capitalist interests with the interests of management in the large "State capitalist" sector, it could be argued that Afrikaner business interests are virtually comparable with those of English business. "Theoretically, the Government, therefore, has to arbitrate between the interests of a slightly disadvantaged White Afrikaner employee class and the interests of a powerful capitalist class" (Schlemmer 1976 : 32). In the post-Wiehahn era, it has also had to contend with an increase in trade union activity among the Black working class (Human et al., 1984, Chapters 3 and 8).

(5) The 1976 Soweto uprising, the pressure from international companies for the institutionalization of equal job opportunities and equal pay for work of equal value for all, the report of the Wiehahn Commission, the school boycotts and the critical skills shortage have led, in recent years, to attempts by the State and the private sector to restructure certain aspects of the class or racial system. The increasing need for a stabilized semi-skilled work force has basically resulted in attempts to develop a relatively privileged urban work force vis-à-vis the unskilled and underprivileged rural poor (Human et al., 1984, Chapters 3, 5, 7 and 8). This in turn has resulted in the development of:

(6) A "privileged" group of higher status Blacks who confront serious problems relating to discrimination, culture, education and their marginal position in society (Human et al., 1984, Chapter 8). Moreover, despite such mobility, and despite trade union activity in the working class, it would appear that huge discrepancies in pay still remain (Human et al., 1984, Chapter 4).

This then is the background against which the restrictions to mobility and equal pay as well as the sociopolitical implications of both increased mobility and the institutionalization of equal pay for work of equal value were assessed.

What is argued is that inequality in the distribution of chances of mobility and in the distribution of rewards constitutes a potential source of political and social instability. The 1976 Soweto uprising, the school boycotts and the increase in strike activity all bear witness to this fact. Although Whites, through the instrument of the State, do employ threat or physical coercion to control Black activity, they also, at the same time, attempt to make the distribution of rewards seem legitimate in the eyes of all. In other words social mechanisms besides coercion are brought to bear on the distribution of rwards. Two such mechanisms are resignation and acceptance, and social mobility.

With regard to resignation and acceptance, the low expectations of some Black people imply that frustration caused by unsatisfied wants is more easily avoided. Black people often compare themselves with others in similar circumstances rather than with Whites. This process begins at an early age with both the home and the school playing important roles in inculcating into Black children the need for blinkered social horizons. Although this is not always the case (see below) and although the ratio of "accommodative" to "aspirational" and "radical" Blacks may be changing, it would appear that many Black people are resigned to the idea of a lack of mobility and unequal pay.

Regarding social mobility, movement of this type provides an escape route for the most competent Blacks, thereby reducing some of the tensions created by inequality. Elevation to "the White man's world" constitutes a personal solution to problems associated with lower status (that is, race) and as such tends to weaken collective efforts to improve the lot of Blacks as a whole.

The problem of who moves where, when and how is in theory, reducible to the operation of the following sets of interlocking and highly complex factors:

(1) <u>The occupational structure in South Africa</u>

The occupational structure affects mobility in two main ways: firstly, in the sense that the ratio of higher to lower rankings provides objec-

tive limits within which the process of occupational mobility must occur and, secondly, by the extent to which certain occupations are inherently open to mobile individuals (that is, the extent of within the market discrimination).

Although some authors are of the opinion that the skills shortage is not as serious as frequently claimed, others argue that changes in the occupational structure between 1960 and 1980 indicate that the greatest increases have occurred in those categories which require specialized knowledge as opposed to physical labour. The relatively lower increases in the lesser skilled jobs indicate that the economy is becoming increasingly capital-intensive and that industry is demanding a greater number of specialized skills. Furthermore, even where relatively serious shortages of manpower exist within an existing occupational category, the occupational shifts among other groups required to ease the shortage are not dramatic when set against the background of the occupational distribution as a whole. Occupational mobility tends to be a gradual process which is not evidenced in sharp contrasts from year to year.

Be that as it may, Black people have, in general, been excluded from higher status positions; they have often been restricted to positions below those occupied by Whites. Political and economic dominance, cultural and racial exclusivism, and legal and status differences have historically all tended to reinforce each other in a clearly hierarchical racial order.

(2) The differential fertility of the various occupational strata

As fertility tends to be lower at higher levels - so with economic growth - an "occupational vacuum" has occurred within the (White) higher status positions which must be filled by the recruitment of "acceptable" Blacks.

Occupational structure and differential fertility, taken together, determine the total number of vacancies and appear, in the South African context, to have created the possibility of Black social mobi-

lity irrespective of changes in the means by which such movement is regulated.

(3) Before the market discrimination : discrimination in upbringing

Human et al., (1984) highlight the way in which before the market discrimination manifesting itself in the environment in the form of amenities, housing, home background and education affects the development and the potential of Black people.

They argue that before the market discrimination deprives Black children of many of the "privileges" conferred on Whites. Such deprivations, in turn, seriously impede the "life chances" and the possibility of upward occupational mobility among the majority of Blacks. Although in the last few years, changes in social relations in South Africa have led to an attempt by the State and by the private sector to restructure certain aspects of the racial-class system, for the majority of Black people in South Africa life consists of an ongoing struggle to achieve and maintain a minimum level of health care, an adequate provision of food, clothing and shelter, and funds for transport to and from work - if, of course, work is available. These circumstances are important aspects of discrimination which seriously impede the chances of upward occupational mobility of the majority of Black, and particularly African people. Moreover, even though attempts to create a "Black middle class" could improve the degree of upward occupational mobility among the privileged few, the effects of the before-the-market discrimination to which such individuals have already been exposed will make themselves felt for many years to come (Human et al., 1984, Chapters 5 and 8).

Any study of education as a form of before the market discrimination should always take into account the political and economic context within which the educational system operates. The educational system can be regarded as the most convenient and most suitable instrument for a policy of social inequality; thus, in South Africa, it constitutes historically probably the major distributor of unequal life chances. In view of the fact that a relationship exists between the kinds of

labour required by the economy and the dynamics of the educational system, it could be argued that the current increases in spending on education and training for Blacks - whilst admittedly improving their overall educational level - at the same time reinforce the distinction between technical education for Blacks versus academic education for Whites thus driving a racial wedge into the occupational hierarchy and limiting the mobility of Blacks. Cynically, some authors (for example, Chisholm and Christie, 1983) argue that the de Lange Report, with its differential provision and its distinction between academic and vocational training, reproduces a racial occupational hierarchy and restricts Black mobility. Also, as far as private sector provision of education is concerned, such provision tends to be vocational or job-specific by nature, thus restricting workers to limited areas of job-competence. This, in turn, will do little to facilitate their job mobility.

Thus, racial discrepancies in educational provision constitute a potent source of before the market discrimination, the effects of which have vital implications for subsequent mobility.

(4) Before the market discrimination : discrimination in opportunity

Discrimination in opportunity basically involves the distribution of opportunities for educational and occupational advancement available to individuals from the various racial groups. Opportunity is determined by differences in family income, credentials and property, differential levels of sophistication and by legislation. Human et al., (1984) show how the entry of Black workers into certain occupations is prevented or prohibited and how those Blacks thus excluded increase the number of entrants into more lowly occupations, thus lowering their level of pay and bargaining ability. Taking this point further, and with regard to the theories of racial wage discrimination, Knight and McGrath (1977) argue that many of the models of economic discrimination developed to analyse racial wage discrimination in the USA have only limited applicability to the South African context. According to Knight and McGrath (1977 : 270) such theories are based on a "taste for discrimination" whereas, in the South African context, the most plausible reason for

discrimination lies in the possibility of White labour's raising its income through collective action and by means of job discrimination. "There is no economic incentive for individual workers to break away from the White coalition."

Economic discrimination in South Africa is deeply rooted in the economic interests of White workers and is not merely the result of moral deviation or irrational racial prejudice. In establishing these results we have had to go beyond the conventional boundaries of economics to examine motives, institutions and collective behaviour (Knight and McGrath, 1977 : 271). Knight and McGrath (1977) conclude that the theories of labour market segmentation provide the most insight with respect to the study of differential access to jobs. "In particular, wage discrimination is seen to result from the exclusion from certain jobs of Blacks whose economic characteristics are appropriate and their "crowding" into others for which the demand is limited in relation to supply. It follows from the crowding explanation that the current rapid expansion of Black education need not improve the racial distribution of income unless employment opportunities are also expanded" (Knight and McGrath 1977 : 270-271).

(5) The motivation to achieve

Closely connected to the distribution of opportunities but analytically separable is the distribution of the motivation to achieve which is not only a function of the individual's material advantages but also his socio-psychological environment. Moreover, levels of aspiration vary not only between but also within social strata. Among the Black people of South Africa the motivation to achieve might well be diminished by their home background, their neighbourhood and housing, by legislation, by education and by their working environment, in other words, by both before the market and within the market discrimination.

Our work on occupational mobility and equal pay for work of equal value in the South African context highlights the fact that opportunities for both upward mobility and equal pay for work of equal value for Blacks are severely circumscribed by before and within the market discrimina-

tion. But what of the implications of Black occupational mobility and attempts to implement a policy of equal pay for work of equal value?

In Chapter 8 of their report Human et al., (1984) highlight the way in which some companies in recent years have attempted to counteract some of the effects of before- and within the market discrimination by presenting programmes on "Black advancement". These authors also look at the enormous problems experienced by upwardly mobile Black managers and comment on their cynicism with regard to many of the programmes offered by the companies by whom they are employed. What is urgently needed is an independent assessment of the efficacy of such programmes both in terms of increased efficiency and their acceptability to upwardly mobile Blacks.

The objective interests of perhaps the majority of organizations lie, however, in selective Black advancement and redefinition of job roles; in this way, such organizations can save labour costs by paying smaller wages and can often maintain the same levels of efficiency. At the same time, however, such objective interests conflict with the common stereotype of Blacks as workers and even more so with the attitudes of some White employees and White customers. As stated earlier, some White employees feel that their jobs are threatened as well as their status - should Black people begin to perform the same kind of work, as they are doing. For this reason, attempts by the Government to control or "sponsor" Black mobility and to prevent higher status Blacks from obtaining commensurate influence and power (except in the homelands) can be seen as attempts to appease certain sectors of the White electorate. As Schlemmer (1976 : 40) states: "In this way, the White political centre in South Africa can be seen as attempting to protect the bases of legitimation of White control from erosion through the acquisition of power and status by Blacks. The process is an interplay between the adaptive needs of the economy and the needs to preserve the legitimation of a political order". However, although the needs for adaptation in the economy are great and although the process of "Black advancement" will intensify, class and status structures in the majority of societies tend to be rather stagnant. "Occupational mobility has never dramatically transformed patterns of status in modern

society. The middle classes tend to retain a significant advantage over the lower classes in prospects for intergenerational mobility and no stable society has shown significant rapid movement into the upper levels of society ... (Hence) social mobility in South Africa is not likely to result in the mushrooming of a proportionally large African middle-class or of a substantial high status Coloured elite in the short- to medium-term" (Schlemmer, 1976 : 40-41). Thus one can expect a limited degree of short-range movement between adjacent occupational levels but considerable inertia in the movement of individuals over a broader span. "By the turn of the century, unless revolution or radical reform occurs, the Whites will probably still retain a dominant position in the higher status echelons of the society. The social and political consequences of Black job advancement have to be sought in the possibility of more subtle processes" (Schlemmer, 1976 : 41).

With respect to White consciousness, it would appear that, within the private sector - and particularly among employers - hierarchically structured perceptions of racial status are waning. Among the White voting public some degree of social and political integration (albeit on "White" terms) has been entertained with respect to Coloureds and Indians. However, some Whites will continue to regard all Blacks as being of lower status and react towards them with prejudice and hostility. Such a dichotomy of reactions could weaken and, indeed, has already threatened White - and, in particular, Afrikaner - political solidarity, the cleavage possibly being at the unskilled and routine and lower white-collar level. Obviously, "the possibility of hostile reactions to status mobility among people perceived as alien is particularly great where the occupational mobility of the incoming group pushes the established group into an uneven pattern of mobility. The mobility itself causes an amount of social dislocation and can cause widespread anxiety and status insecurities; feelings which are then projected onto the incoming group in the form of racial hostilities and right-wing radicalism" (Schlemmer, 1976 : 42). Schlemmer (1976) concludes, however, that although more research in this area is required, it would appear that the influence of management - and, in particular, that of Afrikaner management is gradually increasing and that this will minimize the likelihood of a political reaction to Black status mobility.

But what about Black people themselves? How will they react to occupational mobility? On the one hand, occupational mobility could produce a process of "embourgeoisement" and an increase in middle- and working-class conservatism among Blacks; on the other hand, it could lead to a revolution of rising expectations. Which of these will take precedence depends on the impression social mobility makes on public consciousness. The fact that occupational mobility will proceed initially without commensurate political concessions, together with the fact that some White resistance to "Black advancement" continues to exist, may produce a perception of status incongruence which is usually associated with an increase in discontent (Schlemmer, 1976 : 43; Wella, 1983).

Upward occupational mobility has also failed to produce significant income shifts, a factor which can increase feelings of relative deprivation and hence discontent. At the same time, however, the opening up of the occupational structure after a history of restrictions and oppression can also lead to an improved morale among some. "Once again, however, we should consider that both of these two basic types of response may emerge; the radical response being more likely among the better-educated due to more intense status anxieties and a more ambitious perception of self-worth" (Schlemmer, 1976 : 43).

What the effects of Black upward occupational mobility on the non-mobile African working class will be is a moot point. On the one hand, a growing perception of society as open may encourage "egoistic" orientations and so discourage collective action. On the other hand, if non-mobile Africans begin to compare themselves with their more mobile counterparts, they may perceive their own deprivation in relative terms and become increasingly more discontent. A lack of any real increase in income may also encourage militancy among the working class.

Thus, the issues relating to Black occupational mobility and wage differentiation in the South African context are many and complex. The report by Human et al., (1984) highlights how any discussion of these issues must bear in mind the myriad of factors impinging on the current situation and, in particular, the way in which before the market discrimination can effectively stifle all future chances of mobility for many members of the Black working class.

The second report undertaken by the SBL, UNISA is entitled: STUDIES OF LABOUR MARKET DISCRIMINATION : A CRITIQUE BASED ON A RECENT SOUTH AFRICAN STUDY (Human, Greenacre and Rainey, 1985).

Labour market discrimination, a generic concept which covers phenomena such as the existence and persistence of earnings differentials between preferred and non-preferred workers, discriminatory behaviour in the labour market and the uneven distribution of minority group workers over the occupational hierarchy is a topic of some relevance in the South African context today. Indeed, the first research report discussed above highlights just how relevant the study of occupational mobility and wage differentiation is in contemporary South Africa.

In this second research report, the authors take a critical look at the theoretical and empirical work which has been undertaken in this field overseas. They then discuss the study of labour market discrimination in the manufacturing sector in South Africa in a way which highlights both the theoretical and statistical impoverishment of South African work in this field. Human et al., (1984) conclude that the studies of labour market discrimination which have been undertaken thus far in South Africa have tended to be highly simplistic in nature and to summarize the data in too coarse a fashion. The authors' approach which concentrates on the statistical aspects of the study has therefore been to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of labour market discrimination by the use of more detailed data analysis and by the use of more accurate models.

The third study in this series, the results of which are reported in this publication, involves an analysis of wage differentiation and occupational mobility among Blacks in a number of South African companies. Numerical data were collected in order to assess the extent of occupational mobility among Blacks in these organizations. This was done through an examination of the extent of racial overlap in the occupational and wage structures of the companies. Complementing this type of information, data on the experiences of and attitudes to the occupational mobility of Blacks, or "Black advancement" as it is more commonly called, were collected from managers, supervisors and Black

employees in traditionally White positions. Consequently the objective of the study may be said to be the in-depth and multi-faceted examination of Black occupational mobility and wage differentiation at the micro-level.

A discussion of the case study method of investigation and the study's research design follows in the next chapter. The findings are presented in Chapters three to six with Chapter three recording predominantly numerical data and the remaining chapters the data gathered from the interviews held with personnel in the companies. Conclusions, tentative generalizations and possibilities for further investigation are presented in the final chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

The case study approach was adopted for this stage of the three-part investigation into occupational mobility and wage discrimination because it permits the researcher the degree of flexibility needed to examine a relatively little explored, complex and rapidly evolving situation. The use of pre-existing statistical and documentary sources or structured questionnaires was felt to be inappropriate and premature given the underdeveloped state of our knowledge of this field of study. Information gathered from such sources would not have yielded the same type of understanding that has been gained from this type of study, even if, in the latter case a reasonable response rate could have been guaranteed. This type of study has, moreover, been successfully undertaken by the London School of Economics for the Department of Employment over the period 1974-1977 (see Snell et al., 1981). The wealth of practical information gathered by the LSE study and the essentially exploratory nature of this phase of the investigation led us to consider a rather crude replication here.

Two major and related problems apply to the case study method of investigation, namely those of representativeness and access. Extremely close co-operation and a relatively high degree of interest in the project were required of the companies involved. The type of company which agreed to participate in this study may be characterized as one which sees itself as having "nothing to hide", or as "liberal" in the South African business and political contexts. This is quite clearly then a form of self-selection which limits the variety of the study's respondents. If one adds to this the implications of the other criteria used to select companies, namely ease of access (all the participant companies are located in the PWV area) and the existence of personal contacts to facilitate entrée, and the inherent limitations of the case study approach, it will be realized that we claim neither representativeness nor the ability to generalize from our findings. Given the objectives of the study and the nature of the field of study, these drawbacks should not detract unduly from the value of the infor-

mation contained in this report. The companies that did agree to participate in the study have provided valuable insights into the problems of Black occupational mobility and pay equalization that remain even after most of the problems relating to the moral issues, commitment and resistance have been resolved. In other words, the experiences of these companies highlight the fact that even with "the best will in the world", there are many problems relating to Black advancement and pay equalization that have to be faced. Such problems are often, moreover, specific to the particular circumstances of the organization concerned, a situation which makes prescriptive generalization a hazardous exercise.

The data for this study were collected from six South African business organizations. It was noted earlier that the companies were selected on the basis of their location and the existence of personal contacts within the organization. An attempt was also made to select companies that varied with regard to size, type of operation, economic sector of activity and type of Black-White contact demanded by the nature of the enterprise, factors suspected to be of significance to Black advancement performance. In the case of very large and/or geographically dispersed organizations, smaller units of the organization such as a head office or branch were selected as the focus of study. Two such units were selected from within both the supermarket chain and an industrial corporation. The smaller units were sufficiently different from each other so as not to violate our selection criteria and, in addition, provided us with two cases in which to examine the differential implementation of company policy within the same organization. This explains why the number of respondents cited in the text that follows is not constant.

Entrée was effected through a fairly senior personnel manager who then put our request to the company's executive committee or equivalent thereof. Despite the legitimate nature of our business and the guarantees of anonymity and confidentiality, the negotiating phase was in many cases protracted and difficult. Three companies that were approached refused to participate. Two of these were known to be active in the field of Black advancement and gave as their reasons

their current preoccupation with retrenchment and active Black trade unionism within the organization. The third company was suspected of being inactive with regard to Black advancement and declined to give reasons for their refusal. Once the decision to participate had been taken, the companies concerned showed a keen interest in the project and its outcomes and gave us their fullest co-operation. The reader is referred to appendix A for descriptions of the companies that participated.

The research design was developed in the course of our initial forays into the pilot company. Plans to undertake a statistical testing of a human capital earnings function using data collected from personnel records were frustrated by the incomplete and inaccurate nature of this data base and the different filing systems used for Black and White staff, factors which would have detracted from the validity and representativeness of any findings. We had, therefore, to simplify our analysis of the wage and occupational data and to consider alternative types of data and data collection techniques that would nonetheless provide an indication of the extent and nature of wage and occupational discrimination. A cursory examination of the local literature on Black advancement revealed an almost exclusive preoccupation with the interpretations and experiences of management with regard to the issues. While this is obviously an important aspect of any study, it was decided to supplement these views with those of the poeple who had experienced at first hand their company's Black advancement policy and practices. To this end, we interviewed a number of Black people who occupied traditionally White jobs in each company and these people's immediate superiors. We adapted the definition of a traditionally male job used by Meyer and Dean Lee (date of publication unknown) in their report on the results of affirmative action programmes for women to suit the South African context in such a way that a traditionally White job was defined as a job that five to ten years ago would usually have been filled by a White or, conversely, one in which it would have been unusual to find a Black person. In this way we felt that we would cover a range of perceptions, attitudes and experiences at different levels of the organizational hierarchy. The study has not therefore concentrated, as have many studies, on the experiences of Blacks in

managerial positions. The net has been thrown much wider in order to capture the experiences of ordinary people in ordinary jobs.

The strategy that developed over time was to effect entrée into the company, obtain an organizational chart and, in the case of large, diverse or dispersed companies, to decide, in conjunction with management, upon a division or branch on which to focus. Wage and occupational data were then collected (usually in the form of salary printouts) and analyzed. This analysis then formed the basis on which between eight and ten Black people who occupied traditionally White jobs and their immediate supervisors were selected for interviewing. An interview was also conducted with the relevant personnel manager of the company.

All the interviews were semi-structured in nature as allowance had to be made for the peculiar circumstances of each company. Interviews were held with Black employees in traditionally White jobs, with supervisors of these respondents and with personnel managers of the companies. The interviews with the staff were approximately thirty minutes in duration but those with the personnel managers varied between one and a half and two hours and, because of staff turnover and the wide range of questions asked, often entailed discussions with other members of staff with longer service or in higher positions in the company. In all cases management allowed us to interview their employees during working hours and thus bore the costs. All in all, the period for data collection averaged a week for each company. Confidentiality was guaranteed to all respondents who provided us with information, whatever their position. The guarantee embraced both the anonymity of the respondent in any written report and the confidential nature of any information or views divulged in the course of the research. It was also decided that the identities of the companies that participated in the study should not be divulged. These guarantees determined to a considerable extent the form that the final report takes, a point discussed in greater detail below.

Observation was also a fairly important data collection technique in the study. Observations of phenomena such as the physical arrangement

of facilities in the company and people's choice of words to describe members of other population groups for example, and our own judgements regarding the degree of honesty expressed by those interviewed, inform to some extent our interpretation of the findings for each company.

The research design therefore epitomizes Denzin's (Denzin 1970) notion of between-method triangulation, that is, the use of dissimilar methods to measure the same phenomena.

After having read the disclaimer concerning our ability to generalize from the findings of case studies, the reader may well ask why we have not simply presented eight separate case studies as the final report. It was decided to summarize the data under general headings for several reasons. Firstly, a report which presents eight case studies would be exceedingly long. Secondly, the detailed manner in which the characteristics and circumstances of the participating companies would have to be spelled out if the requirements of case study presentation were to be met could possibly permit the identification of both those companies and their employees and thereby inadvertently lead to the violation of our guarantees of confidentiality and anonymity. Thirdly, we assumed that for many of the readers of this report and particularly those engaged in social scientific work themselves, there would be a strong inclination to compare discrete case studies and to generalize from them in any case. Such tendencies seem to be as characteristic of human thought as they are of the scientific endeavour. Therefore, although positive generalizations cannot be made from case studies, it seemed both possible and legitimate to summarize material, albeit tentatively, and thereby present for the reader an indication of the similarities and trends in the data and possibilities for future research.

CHAPTER 3

A QUANTITATIVE PICTURE OF OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AND WAGE DIFFERENTIATION

The material presented in this chapter derives from company records. Tables documenting the occupational and wage structures of the companies are presented. Each set of tables is followed by a brief discussion of the circumstances in each company and the chapter is concluded with a more general discussion.

The numerical data provide an indication of the extent of occupational mobility and, decidedly more tentatively, of wage differentials in the seven organizational units that were studied. We are reluctant to characterize the material as statistical or to perform calculations on the data any more sophisticated than percentages because of the connotations of representativeness and generalizability that inevitably attach to such terms and practices. The data presented as they are should nonetheless provide a useful complement to that presented in Part One of the overall investigation (Human et al., 1984)

In only one case was it possible to obtain occupational data from an earlier date, as most companies do not appear to have retained the type of records we required. We were unable to undertake a longitudinal comparison and therefore cannot comment upon the rate or nature of changes that have occurred in the companies. The picture of occupational and wage structures presented here is therefore a cross-sectional one.

Data on the racial composition of the companies' occupational hierarchies were obtained from their current wage and salary print-outs. The data were arranged according to the job grade or wage grade categories in use in each company and participation and distribution percentages calculated (abbreviated to P %'s and D %'s in the tables). A participation percentage indicates the extent of the participation that particular race-sex groups have in a given job grade category and is calculated as follows:

$$P\ \% = \frac{\text{No. of employees of race-sex group x in job grade 1}}{\text{Total No. of employees in job grade 1}} \times 100$$

The distribution percentages indicate the distribution of members of particular race-sex groups in particular job grades, as a percentage of the total number of employees of the race-sex group under study in the organization. It is calculated as follows:

$$D\ \% = \frac{\text{No. of employees in race-sex group x in job grade 1}}{\text{Total No. of employees of race-sex group x}} \times 100$$

"Gender" was included in the construction of the occupational structure tables as it was found to be an important variable. The fundamental distinction drawn in most companies between salaried and hourly-paid employees has been retained.

Average monthly salaries and hourly wages were calculated from the same data sources. We stress that care should be exercised when attempting to draw any conclusions from the data on the wage structures of the companies. Differences in the average wages of race groups for the same job grade were found to exist but, because of the nature of the study, cannot be subjected to significance testing. It would require the collection of information pertaining to numerous characteristics of the respondents and sophisticated statistical testing to determine the reasons for these differences and thereby the influence of racial discrimination. The reasons for not undertaking this in this study have been outlined in Chapter two. "Gender" was not included as a variable in the wage structure tables given the tentative nature of the data. The salaries of the most senior employees were confidential and are not reported here. It should become clear from an examination of the tables that inequalities are more likely to occur in the occupational structures of organizations, and the reader is advised to attach more weight to these data in the drawing of conclusions than to the wage data.

TABLE 1.1

COMPANY A - HOURLY STAFF STRUCTURE

Job Grade		Total employees	African M	African F	Asian M	Asian F	Coloured M	Coloured F	White M	White F
09	n	3							3	
	P %								100	
	D %								14	
10	n	12	3				2		7	
	P %		25				17		58	
	D %		0,79				3		32	
11	n	17	6				1		10	
	P %		35				6		59	
	D %		1,6				1,4		45	
12	n	8	7				1			
	P %		88				13			
	D %		1,4				1,8			
13	n	32	26	2			3		1	
	P %		81	6			9		3	
	D %		7	3			4,3		4,5	
14	n	25	19	1			5			
	P %		76	4			20			
	D %		5	1,5			7,2			
15	n	64	38	14			12			
	P %		59	22			19			
	D %		10	21			17			
16	n	157	123	14			28	1		
	P %		78	9			18	0,63		
	D %		32	21			41	100		
17	n	170	126	30			14			
	P %		74	18			8,2			
	D %		33	45			20			
18	n	43	34	6			3			
	P %		79	14			7			
	D %		9	9			4,3			
45	n	1 (electrician)						1		
	P %							100		
	D %							4,5		
N		540	382	67			69	1	22	
P %			71	12			13	0,19	4	

TABLE 1.2

COMPANY A - SALARIED STAFF STRUCTURE

Job Grade		Total employees	African M	African F	Asian M	Asian F	Coloured M	Coloured F	White M	White F
07	n	5							4	1
	P %								80	20
	D %								16	9
08	n	3							3	
	P %								100	
	D %								12	
09	n	13					2		10	1
	P %						15		77	8
	D %						22		40	9
10	n	9	1				1		5	2
	P %		11				11		56	22
	D %		25				11		20	18
11	n	9	2	1			2		3	1
	P %		22	11			22		33	11
	D %		50	100			22		12	9
12	n	10	1		1		3	1		4
	P %		10		10		30	10		40
	D %		25		100		33	50		36
13	n	3					1	1		1
	P %						33	33		33
	D %						11	50		9
N		52	4	1	1		9	2	25	10
P %			8	2	2		17	4	48	19

TABLE 1.3

COMPANY A - AVERAGE HOURLY WAGES

Job Grade	Average wage	Average African wage	Average Asian wage	Average Coloured wage	Average White wage
10	8,21	5,45		6,65	9,00
11	6,97	5,35		7,59	7,89
12	4,07	3,98		4,68	
13	3,79	3,59		3,85	6,03
14	3,21	3,06		3,82	
15	2,65	2,76		3,54	
16	No data available				
17	No data available				
18	2,21	2,18		2,46	

TABLE 1.4

COMPANY A - AVERAGE MONTHLY SALARIES

Job Grade	Average salary	Average African salary	Average Asian salary	Average Coloured salary	Average White salary
07	2 152				2 152
08	1 592				1 592
09	1 442			1 414	1 446
10	1 299	1 405		1 260	1 290
11	1 022	913		945	1 143
12	1 116	930	880	813	895
13	No data available				

Company A would appear to be a fairly typical example of a small to medium sized manufacturing concern. There are many unskilled jobs (39 per cent of the jobs are graded as 17 or 18) and there is a preponderance of semi-skilled jobs, Grades 13 to 16 absorbing 51 per cent of all workers.

Africans make up 83 per cent of the total hourly paid work force and are concentrated in the unskilled (92 per cent) and semi-skilled Grades (85 per cent of all employees) while the concentration is lower in the higher Grades 9 to 12 in which they occupy 40 per cent of the available positions. In other words, 44 and 53 per cent of all the African employees occupy positions in Grades 17 to 18 and Grades 13 to 16 respectively leaving only 4 per cent in the Upper Grades 9 to 12.

By way of contrast, Whites constitute a mere 4 per cent of the hourly paid work force and yet are concentrated in the upper grades, with grade 9 (foremen) being exclusively occupied by Whites.

The distribution of Coloureds, who constitute 13 per cent of the hourly paid work force, over the occupational hierarchy is proportionately somewhat more balanced than that of either White or African employees.

Regarding the salaried staff structure (Table 1.2) the lack of racial overlap is even more clearly illustrated. Firstly, Whites constitute 67 per cent of the entire salaried staff complement and exclusively occupy the managerial, senior accountant, and technical assistant positions in Grades 7 and 8. Black participation increases as one moves down the grading ladder to achieve parity (among pensioners) but never to overtake White participation. White female participation in the company ensures that, overall, Whites are distributed over the entire range of job grades in the company. It is interesting to note that as White female participation increases (and that of White males drops) so does that of all other population groups. Blacks occupy

supervisory positions in grades 9 and 10. The positions in grade 11 that are occupied by Africans are those of industrial nurse and personnel officer. The positions occupied by Coloureds in the lower grades are mainly clerical in nature.

Average hourly wages for Whites were in all cases higher than those for employees of other race groups, the difference between Coloured and White average wages being smaller than that between White and African average wages. No such pattern can be inferred from Table 1.4 for salaries however.

The senior posts in this unit of a banking organization are exclusively occupied by Whites but Black participation begins at Grade 4D, a category including relatively senior positions such as assistant or deputy accountant, assistants to managers and high-level clerks. Coloured women in particular constitute a considerable proportion of the employees from grade 3B downwards. They achieve equal participation as White women in grade 2B and near parity in the part of entry grade 1B. Black men are concentrated in the lower-level grades 2A to 1B and, of course, in the non-clerical category of cleaners. If this latter category is excluded from the calculation, then the distribution percentages of Black males in the latter categories are not inconsiderable. It is interesting to note that White male participation in grade 1B is exceptionally low. This was explained by the personnel manager interviewed in terms of the availability of alternative employment for White males that offered higher wages; hence the predominance of women in the banking unit. Black female participation would seem to be in its very early states as only 3 per cent of grade 1B jobs were occupied by Black women. The majority of word processor operators are White females. As the use of word processors becomes more widespread, Blacks are likely to move into this sphere.

Average wages for selected job grades with racial overlap are presented in Table 2.2. No clear pattern can be said to emerge from these data as, although there are a number of cases in which the average Black wages are lower than the average for Whites there are also cases in which the reverse is true. In all likelihood, seniority is probably being rewarded.

TABLE 2.1

COMPANY B - STAFF STRUCTURE

Grade		Total employees	African M	African F	Asian M	Asian F	Coloured M	Coloured F	White M	White F
Manager	n	35							23	12
	P %								66	34
	D %								39	5
Manager	n	2							1	1
	P %								50	50
	D %								1,69	0,4
Grade 4B	n	3							3	
	P %								100	
	D %								1,0	
Grade 4C	n	8							5	3
	P %								63	38
	D %								8	1,22
Grade 4D	n	37	1					4	8	24
	P %		3					11	22	65
	D %		0,88					2	14	10
Grade 3A	n	14			1				2	11
	P %				7				14	79
	D %				50				3	4
Grade 3B	n	22					1	8		13
	P %						5	36		59
	D %						33	3		5
Grade 2A	n	69	3					19	2	45
	P %		4					28	3	65
	D %		3,5					8	3	18
Grade 2B	n	102	18				1	39	5	39
	P %		18				1	39	5	39
	D %		16				33	16	8	16
Grade 1A	n	151	22			4		93	7	25
	P %		15			3		62	5	17
	D %		19			44		37	12	10
Grade 1B	n	145	16	4		2		59	3	61
	P %		11	3		2		41	2	42
	D %		11	67		22		24	5	25
Word	n	6						1		5
Processor	P %							17		83
operator	D %							0,4		2
Typists	n	15				2		6		7
	P %					13		40		47
	D %					22		2,4		3
Machi-	n	20				1		19		
nists	P %					5		95		
	D %					11		7,6		
Cleaners	n	56	54		1		1			
	P %		96		2		2			
	D %		47		50		33			
Teamaids	n	3		2				1		
	P %			66				33		
	D %			33				0,4		
N		688	114	6	2	9	3	249	59	246
P %			17	0,87	0,29	1,3	0,44	36	9	36

TABLE 2.2

COMPANY B - AVERAGE SALARIES FOR SELECTED GRADES WITH RACIAL OVERLAP

Grade	Average salary	African average salary	Asian average salary	Coloured average salary	White average salary
4D	1 364	1 269		1 282	1 338
3A	1 153		1 090		1 158
3B	1 001			992	1 008
2A	910	879		880	888
1A	700	690	653	714	674
Word processor operators	704			584	728
Typists	653		655	593	703

TABLE 3.1

COMPANY C - HOURLY STAFF STRUCTURE

Job Grade	Total employees	African M	African F	Asian M	Asian F	Coloured M	Coloured F	White M	White F
13 n	1	1							
P %		100							
D %		3							
14 n	8	8							
P %		100							
D %		21							
15 n	3	3							
P %		100							
D %		8							
16 n	1	1							
P %		100							
D %		3							
17 n	22	20				2			
P %		91				9			
D %		53				100			
18 n	7	5	2						
P %		71	29						
D %		13	100						
N	42	38	2			2			
P %		90	5			5			

TABLE 3.2

COMPANY C - SALARIED STAFF STRUCTURE*

Job Grade		Total employees	African M	African F	Asian M	Asian F	Coloured M	Coloured F	White M	White F
6	n	2							2	
	P %								100	
	D %								4	
7	n	4							4	
	P %								100	
	D %								9	
8	n	3							3	
	P %								100	
	D %								7	
9	n	5							3	2
	P %								60	40
	D %								7	5,4
10	n	8					1		6	1
	P %						13		75	13
	D %						33		13	2,7
11	n	24	6		2				15	1
	P %		25		8				63	4
	D %		15		66				33	2,7
12	n	17	3				2		3	9
	P %		18				12		18	53
	D %		7,5				66		7	24
13	n	17	2		1				1	13
	P %		12		6				6	76
	D %		5		33				0,049	35
14	n	16	6			1				9
	P %		38			6				56
	D %		15			100				24
15	n	6	6							
	P %		100							
	D %		15							
16	n	2	1	1						
	P %		50	50						
	D %		2,5	33						
17	n	14	14							
	P %		100							
	D %		35							
18	n	4	2	2						
	P %		50	50						
	D %		5	66						
29	n	10							8	2
	P %								80	20
	D %								18	5,4
N		132	40	3	3	1	3		45	37
P %			30	2	2	0,75	2		34	28

This table includes a number of staff remunerated on an hourly basis but who receive their wages at the end of each month.

TABLE 3.3

COMPANY C - AVERAGE HOURLY WAGES

Grade	Average wage	African average wage	Asian average wage	Coloured average wage	White average wage
13	3,17	3,17			
14	3,01	3,01			
15	2,75	2,75			
16	2,63	2,63			
17	2,21	2,22		2,17	
18	2,15	2,15			

TABLE 3.4

COMPANY C - AVERAGE MONTHLY SALARIES

Grade	Average salary	African average salary	Asian average salary	Coloured average salary	White average salary
06-07	Confidential				Confidential
08	1 448				1 448
09	1 318				1 318
10	1 395			1 430	1 390
11	1 259	1 113	1 115		1 263
12	929	1 001		773	937
13	750	683	750		760
14	650	624	715		660
15	505	505			
16	480	480			
17	469	469			
18	434	434			
29	960				960

The most striking feature of the hourly and monthly occupational hierarchies of Company C is the complete absence of racial overlap in thirteen of the twenty grades. All the hourly-paid staff are African but for two Coloured males. The upper level salaried job Grades 6 to 9 are exclusively White and predominantly male. Members of other race groups begin to make an appearance from Grade 10 downwards. Mixed occupational categories extend from Grade 10 to 14, where-after Africans exclusively occupy the positions. The positions in Grade 29 are sales representative jobs which are exclusively White, a situation which the company intends to remedy shortly in order to gain a foothold in the Black market.

Jobs in the hourly-paid staff structure include a number of drivers of heavy vehicles (Grade 14) and warehouse or workshop assistants (various grades), all of which are traditionally Black jobs.

In the salaried staff structure, one of the five senior technicians is Coloured (Grade 10) and in Grade 11, six of the twenty technicians are African. All supervisory positions in Grades 10, 11 and 12 are occupied by Whites. Africans begin to occupy clerical positions from Grade 13, but White females tend to occupy a greater proportion of the clerical positions in the higher grades while Blacks are concentrated in the lower grades.

Differences in average salaries are noticeable in Table 3.4 and even if job titles are held constant, the difference still remains in some cases. The average, however serves to mask the fact that a few White clerks do earn less than the Black clerks. Care should therefore be taken in interpreting the wage data in the absence of additional information on the employees.

TABLE 4.1
COMPANY D - HOURLY STAFF STRUCTURE, 1974 AND 1980

Skills category	Wage grade	January 1974			January 1980		
		White	Black	Total	White	Black	Total
Skilled	9	12 (100 %)*	- (0 %)	12	35 (80 %)	9 (20 %)	44
	8	10 (100 %)	- (0 %)	10	19 (100 %)	- (0 %)	19
	7	45 (100 %)	- (0 %)	45	28 (93 %)	2 (7 %)	30
	6	- (0 %)	19 (100 %)	19	- (0 %)	48 (100 %)	48
	5	10 (37 %)	17 (63 %)	27	5 (12 %)	37 (88 %)	42
	4	- (0 %)	22 (100 %)	22	- (0 %)	58 (100 %)	58
Semi-skilled	3	- (0 %)	69 (100 %)	69	- (0 %)	305 (100 %)	305
	2	- (0 %)	125 (100 %)	125	- (0 %)	238 (100 %)	238
Unskilled	1	- (0 %)	153 (100 %)	153	- (0 %)	141 (100 %)	141
N		77 (16 %)	405 (84 %)	482 (100 %)	87 (9 %)	838 (91 %)	925 (100 %)

*Participation percentages shown in brackets

TABLE 4.2
COMPANY D - SALARIED STAFF STRUCTURE, 1973 AND 1980 (EXCLUDING TOP AND SENIOR MANAGERIAL POSITIONS)

Category	Job grade	December 1973			January 1980		
		White	Black	Total	White	Black	Total
Middle man.	6	?*	-	?	10 (100 %)**	0 (0 %)	10
	7	?	-	?	27 (100 %)	0 (0 %)	27
Jnr. man.	8	?	-	?	61 (98 %)	1 (2 %)	62
& Spec.	9	?	-	?	53 (100 %)	0 (0 %)	53
S.visory &	10	?	-	?	33 (97 %)	1 (3 %)	34
snr. clerks	11	?	-	?	15 (94 %)	1 (6 %)	16
Clerical 'A'	12	?	-	?	12 (71 %)	5 (29 %)	17
	13	?	-	?	49 (84 %)	9 (16 %)	58
Clerical 'B'	14	?	-	?	10 (77 %)	3 (23 %)	13
	15	?		?	0 (0 %)	2 (100 %)	2
		100 %	0 %	?	270 (92 %)	22 (8 %)	292

*? Indicates no data available
** Participation percentages shown in brackets

TABLE 4.3

COMPANY D - HOURLY STAFF STRUCTURE, 1984

Pay Grade		Total	White			Black		
			M	F	T	M	F	T
01	n	90	0	0	0	62	28	90
	P %					(69 %)	(31 %)	(100 %)
	D %					(4,2 %)	(55 %)	(6 %)
01+N1	n	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
	P %					(100 %)	(0 %)	(100 %)
	D %					(0,067 %)	(0 %)	(0,05 %)
01+N2	n	2	2	0	2	0	0	0
	P %		(100 %)		(100 %)			
	D %		(0,75 %)		(0,75 %)			
01+N3	n	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
	P %					(100 %)		(100 %)
	D %					(0,067 %)		(0,05 %)
02	n	372	0	0	0	349	23	372
	P %					(94 %)	(6 %)	(100 %)
	D %					(24 %)	(45 %)	(24 %)
02+N2	n	2	2	0	2	0	0	0
	P %		(100 %)		(100 %)			
	D %		(1,5 %)		(1,5 %)			
02+N4	n	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
	P %		(100 %)					
	D %		(0,75 %)					
03	n	522	8	1	9	513	0	513
	P %		(1,5 %)	(0,1 %)	(1,6 %)	(98 %)		(98 %)
	D %		(6 %)	(50 %)	(6,7 %)	(35 %)		(34 %)
3+N2	n	6	2	0	2	4	0	4
	P %		(33 %)		(33 %)	(67 %)		(67 %)
	D %		(1,5 %)		(1,5 %)	(0,27 %)		(0,26 %)
3+N3	n	5	1	0	1	4	0	4
	P %		(20 %)		(20 %)	(80 %)		(80 %)
	D %		(0,76 %)		(0,75 %)	(0,27 %)		(0,26 %)
04	n	232	9	0	9	223	-	223
	P %		(4 %)		(4 %)	(96 %)		(96 %)
	D %		(6,8 %)		(6,7 %)	(15 %)		(15 %)
04+N1	n	2	2	0	2	-	-	-
	P %		(100 %)	(0 %)	(100 %)			
	D %		(1,5 %)	(0 %)	(1,5 %)			
05	n	230	11	1	12	218	-	218
	P %		(5 %)	(0,4 %)	(5,4 %)	(95 %)		(95 %)
	D %		(8,3 %)	(50 %)	(9 %)	(14,73 %)		(14 %)
06	n	113	8	0	8	105	0	105
	P %		(7 %)		(7 %)	(93 %)		(93 %)
	D %		(6 %)		(6 %)	(7,09%)		(7 %)
07	n	86	86	0	86	0	0	0
	P %		(100 %)		(100 %)			
	D %		(65 %)		(64 %)			
	N	1665	132	2	134	1480	51	1531
	P %		8	1,2	8	89	3	92

TABLE 4.4

COMPANY D - SALARIES STAFF STRUCTURE, 1984

Job Grade		Total Employees	White	Black
CP	n	28	28	
1-4	P %		100	
	D %		4,5	
(confidential payroll)				
05	n	50	49	1
	P %		98	2
	D %		8	0,76
06	n	38	38	
	P %		100	
	D %		6	
07	n	127	127	
	P %		100	
	D %		21	
08	n	133	129	4
1-4	P %		97	3
	D %		21	3
09	n	115	100	15
	P %		87	13
	D %		16	11
10	n	143	28	74
	P %		48	52
	D %		11	56
11	n	13	7	6
	P %		54	46
	D %		1	5
12	n	50	41	9
	P %		82	18
	D %		7	7
13	n	42	27	15
	P %		64	36
	D %		4	11
14	n	6	2	4
	P %		33	67
	D %		0,3	3
15	n	4		4
	P %			100
	D %			3
		N = 749	N = 617	N = 132
			82	18

Company D was the only case for which data of a longitudinal nature could be obtained. The data are not strictly comparable - nine skills categories were used up until 1980 while the 1984 data are divided into seven categories. A rough comparison is possible however through the calculation of indices of dissimilarity.

The index dropped fractionally from 95,95 to 93,93 between 1974 and 1980 for the hourly staff structure. While Blacks (mainly Africans, as few Coloureds or Asians are employed by the company) continued to dominate the unskilled and semi-skilled grades and no Whites were employed in these positions, Black employees moved increasingly into Grades 5, 7 and 9 in which their participation increased by 25, 7 and 20 per cent respectively. White over-representation in the upper grades persisted.

According to the current situation recorded in Table 4.3, the index of dissimilarity dropped to 70,97 from its position in 1980. In this table Grades 1 to 3 are unskilled, 4 to 6 semi-skilled and Grade 7 incorporates the old grades, 7, 8 and 9. Blacks can be seen to dominate in all grades except Grade 7 in which skilled artisans are categorized. Whites exclusively occupy these positions. Increases in Black participation occurred in the lower clerical Grade (14) and Grades 10 and 11, supervisory and senior clerical.

Among the salaried staff, Blacks cluster in the positions from Grade 10 to 15. Black employees in Grade 10 occupy a number of foremen positions as well as security officer, despatch supervisor, technician, draughtsman and work study officer positions. A large number of the positions in Grades 11 to 15 are clerical, or secretarial and a number of African women are employed in these jobs. Unfortunately, information regarding the sex of the employees was not available for the salaried staff structure.

The company employs a Black industrial relations/welfare manager who has under him a number of other Black employees such as the welfare, personnel and industrial relations officers, in addition to having a Black secretary.

The small number of Blacks in Grade 8 are general foremen, superior to the foremen in Grade 10. It is perhaps worth recounting at this point, the company's experience with regard to the advancement of Blacks to these positions. The tale to some extent qualifies the picture obtained only from an examination of the occupational structures, while also illustrating some of the problems attached to Black advancement.

The decision to place Black employees in traditionally White supervisory jobs in a motorcar manufacturing company was taken by the most senior level of management. There was a rapid selection and promotion of Black operators to the position of foreman. These employees were selected for their competence as technicians and on the strengh of traits such as obedience and punctuality, criteria now seen to be irrelevant for a management level job. Consequently, the majority of these foremen have not been able to fulfil the requirements of the job. This has had several ramifications. Firstly, responsibilities and duties had to be withdrawn from the foreman's job and incorporated into the newly created position of general foreman, a position filled mainly by the White ex-foreman but also by a smaller number of Black employees deemed competent. Secondly, the lower level employees tended to bypass the new Black foremen and to seek assistance at the general foreman level of authority. The Black foremen then perceived their position to be a token one and withdrew even more from their responsibilities and duties. It was felt in addition that White attitudes hardened as a result of the moves made by management in this regard. The company found itself with an unwieldy, inefficient and expensive organizational structure and the problem of what to do with the Black foremen.

Blacks form only 30 per cent of the total work force of Company E. The majority of this group, Africans, are employed mainly in the lower-level Grades 12 to 16 in positions ranging from microfilm supervisor to technical trainee to cleaner. The company employs, in Grade 13, an African telephonist and in Grade 11 a number of Black secretary/typists. A small but perhaps significant number of Africans are employed in Grade 10 - three as accounting assistants, three as graduate administrative assistants and one in a technical position. These are fields of employment with good prospects for advancement.

Coloureds and Asians occupy positions in Grade 9 as buying assistants in an otherwise predominantly White grade. The one Black employee in Grade 6 is an Industrial Relations officer.

Table 5.2 shows average wages for a number of the grades with a mixed racial composition. Wage discrimination would not seem to exist in this company.

TABLE 4.5

COMPANY D - AVERAGE HOURLY SALARIES FOR GRADE 7 AND 8 WORKERS PAID MONTHLY

Job Grade	Average wage	Black average wage	White average wage
6	5,46	4,50	7,58
7	8,54	6,67	8,57

TABLE 4.6

COMPANY D - AVERAGE SALARIES FOR SELECTED GRADES WITH RACIAL OVERLAP

Job Grade	Average salary	Black average salary	White average salary
5	2 766	2 753	2 767
8	1 711	1 673	1 712
9	1 489	1 355	1 505
12	971	877	992
13	825	755	835

TABLE 5.1

COMPANY E - SALARIES STAFF STRUCTURE

Job Grade		No. of employees	Africans	Asians	Coloureds	Whites
000	n	6				6
	P %					100
	D %					1
001	n					
002	n	13				13
	P %					100
	D %					2
003	n	48				48
	P %					100
	D %					7
004	n	69				69
	P %					100
	D %					11
005	n	52				52
	P %					100
	D %					8
006	n	67	1			66
	P %		1,5			98,5
	D %		0,4			10
007	n	85				85
	P %					100
	D %					13
008	n	79				79
	P %					100
	D %					12
009	n	58		2	2	54
	P %			3,4	3,4	93
	D %			20	22	8
010	n	60	6			54
	P %		10			90
	D %		2,4			8
011	n	113	13	7	5	88
	P %		12	6	4	78
	D %		5	70	56	14
012	n	56	27	1	2	26
	P %		48	2	4	46
	D %		11	10	22	4
013	n	45	36			9
	P %		80			20
	D %		15			1
014	n	43	43			
	P %		100			
	D %		17			
015	n	55	55			
	P %		100			
	D %		38			
016	n	66	66			
	P %		100			
	D %		26			
	N	915	247	10	9	649
	P %		27	1	1	71

TABLE 5.2

COMPANY E - AVERAGE SALARIES FOR SELECTED JOB GRADES WITH RACIAL OVERLAP

Grade	Average salary	African average	Asian average	Coloured average	White average
9	1 415		1 592	1 444	1 408
10	1 519	1 207			1 554
12	765	827	835	1 106	672
13	843	855			793

TABLE 6.1

COMPANY F - STAFF STRUCTURE

Job group		Total employees	African M	African F	Asian M	Asian F	Coloured M	Coloured F	White M	White F
Managers	n	4			2				1	1
	P %				50				25	25
	D %				67				20	10
Super-	n	8		3			1	1	1	2
visors	P %			38			13	13	13	25
	D %			5			33	50	20	20
Control-	n	5	1	1	1				1	1
lers	P %		20	20	20				20	20
	D %		4	2	33				20	10
Food Pre-	n	3	2							1
paration	P %		67							33
	D %		8							10
Recep-	n	2		1						1
tionist/	P %			50						50
secretary	D %			2						10
Store	n	2							1	1
detective	P %								50	50
	D %									
Clerical	n	20	3	13				1	1	2
and	P %		15	65				5	5	10
related	D %		11	19				50	20	20
Assistants	n	12		12						
	P %			100						
	D %			18						
Shelf	n	28	17	10			1			
packers	P %		61	36			4			
	D %		63	15			33			
Cashiers	n	13		12						1
	P %			92						8
	D %			18						10
Lowest	n	8	4	3			1			
manual	P %		50	38			13			
	D %		15	5			33			
N		117	27	67	3		3	2	5	10
P %			23	57	3		3	2	4	9

TABLE 6.2
COMPANY F - SALARIES FOR SELECTED JOB GROUPS WITH RACIAL OVERLAP

Job group	Average salary	African average salary	Asian average salary	Coloured average salary	White average salary
Managers	1 016		1 125		800
Supervisors	899	698			1 200
Check-out controller	468	480		325	600
Food preparation	685	578			900
Clerks	456	353			715
Cashiers	285	290			280

No job grading system was used in Company F, a supermarket. The job titles were therefore arranged in job groups and organized in a roughly hierarchical order. Almost all the jobs are low level and relatively routine by nature. The supervisor category, for example, includes the position of check-out control chargehand. The job groups and job titles should therefore be placed in context when evaluating the type of mobility that has taken place.

Blacks occupy a fair number of the more senior positions in the supermarket although two positions involving a high degree of trust, namely the store detective positions, are filled by Whites. Unlike the companies that have been examined thus far, a large proportion of the supermarket's staff consists of Black women. They occupy 65 per cent of the clerical posts, all the assistant and till packer posts and 92 per cent of the cashier positions. African males are concentrated in the manual labour positions of shelf packers and the general labourer/cleaner type of position. Some practise a trade in the food preparation section as bakers and others work in clerical positions.

The salary data have been grouped in a similar manner to the occupational data. However, we are able to compare the wages of specific jobs in addition to examining the broader categories. Considerable

discrepancies in salaries would appear to exist. For example, the White check-out chargehand earns R600 while the salaries of the two Black women in the same position are R325 and R480. As we have noted before much more information is needed on the job-relevant characteristics of the respondents before definite conclusions can be drawn. In this case, however, length of service would seem to be irrelevant as the White employee had been in the company since 1984 while the Coloured and African women had two and eleven years service respectively. Similar discrepancies are apparent among the clerks, where the average Black salary is R353 compared to R715 for White clerks and among supervisors where R698 and R1 200 are the average salaries for Blacks and Whites. Yet among the cashiers, the average Black wage is R289,58 and that of the sole White cashier is R280. Similarly the managerial positions show no such discrepancies.

The absence of a job evaluation system made the categorization of job titles in Company G exceptionally difficult. Table 7.1 therefore should be interpreted with care. Whites are seen to dominate the two highest level job groups in the organization and Blacks the lower level jobs. As we have seen in other instances, as White female participation in job groups increases so does that of Blacks. A not inconsiderable number of the clerical jobs in the organization are occupied by African women.

The categorization of jobs in Table 7.2 differs from that in the table of the staff structure of the organization. Actual job titles were available so it was decided to make use of the opportunity to examine the salaries that attached to certain job titles. While average African salaries would seem to be lower than those for other categories of employees, positive conclusions on wage differentiation cannot be drawn in the absence of additional information on the employees.

The examination of the occupational structures of several companies confirms the kinds of patterns and trends in occupational mobility that were outlined in Part One of this investigation (Human et al., 1984).

TABLE 7.1

COMPANY G - STAFF STRUCTURE

Job Group		Total employees	African M	African F	Asian M	Asian F	Coloured M	Coloured F	White M	White F
Managers	n	12							7	5
	P %	2,3							58	42
	D %	2,3							8	2
High-level	n	9							4	5
profes-	P %	2							44	56
sionals	D %	2							5	2
Officers	n	22	12	1	1		1		4	3
	P %	4	55	5	5		5		18	14
	D %	4	23	2	4		7		5	1
Low-level	n	68	2	3	11	2	1		31	18
specia-	P %	13	3	4	16	3	1		46	26
lists	D %	13	4	5	44	6	7		36	8
Supervi-	n	12			3	1	2		2	4
sors/con-	P %	2,3			25	8	16		16	33
trollers	D %	2,3			12	3	14		2	2
Senior	n	12	2			1	1	1		7
clerical	P %	2,3	16			8	8	8		58
	D %	2,3	4			3	7	4		3
Clerical	n	182	7	35	5	16	5	13	10	91
	P %	35	4	19	3	9	3	7	5	50
	D %	35	13	56	20	52	36	50	11	42
Secreta-	n	65		2		7		6		50
rial/tele-	P %	13		3		11		9		77
phonist	D %	13		3		23		23		23
Junior	n	14		8		1	1	1		3
clerical	P %	3		57		7	7	7		21
	D %	3		13		3	7	4		1
Low-level	n	69	5		5	3	1	3	25	27
computer	P %	13	7		7	4	1	4	36	39
staff	D %	13	9		20	10	7	12	29	13
Drivers/	n	10	10							
specia-	P %	2	100							
lists	D %	2	19							

(Continued)

TABLE 7.1 CONTINUED

Job Group		Total employees	African M	African F	Asian M	Asian F	Coloured M	Coloured F	White M	White F
Mechanics	n	5					2		3	
	P %	1					40		60	
	D %	1					14		3	
Messen-	n	11	7	3					1	
gers/etc.	P %	2	64	27					9	
	D %	2	13	5					1	
Lowest	n	16	6	9				1		
manual	P %	3	38	56				6		
	D %	3	11	14				4		
No title	n	8	2	2				1		3
found	P %	2	25	25				13		38
	D %	2	4	3				4		1
N		515	53	63	25	31	14	26	87	216
P %		100	10	12	5	6	3	5	17	42

TABLE 7.2

COMPANY G - AVERAGE SALARIES FOR SELECTED JOB GROUPS WITH RACIAL OVERLAP

Job group	Average salary	African average salary	Asian average salary	Coloured average salary	White average salary
Officers	857	443	2 550	1 025	1 359
Supervisors	1 310		1 315	1 450	1 259
Senior clerical	793	545	650	750	897
Pay clerks	922	600	1 090		936
General clerks	740	440	743	661	895
Switchboard operators	749		950	718	733

manager worked in the field of industrial relations and welfare as did a Black officer in a large organization. These are positions involving contact with predominantly other Blacks, both inside and outside the organization and are the types of positions into which many Black social science graduates are being recruited. The movement of Blacks into banking and positions such as accounting assistant and graduate administrative assistant indicates that in the future we may see Black managers in financial, accounting and administrative divisions.

A fair number of Blacks occupy supervisory positions but the category is a large one, encompassing a wide range of jobs with varying degrees of authority, responsibility and skill and varying promotion prospects. Compare, for example, the job of mail room supervisor with that of a production floor supervisor. The reader should also bear in mind the admission by several managers that duties and responsibilities were given gradually to Black incumbents of those positions and the experiences of some of our Black respondents who commented upon the great length of time it took them to be appointed to such positions.

Many Blacks are employed in clerical functions and in the case of African employees this is frequently at a very junior level. The clerical position holds some prospects for advancement for a suitably qualified person who is given an opportunity to show his worth. The reader is again referred to Chapter Six in which we recount the experiences of certain clerks who were not allowed to learn the job fully. Blacks, and more particularly Africans, are under-represented in positions such as secretary, receptionist and telephonist, all positions involving contact with the public, communication and social skills.

The grouping of job titles into job groups or grades obscures the fact that a fair number of Africans would seem to be employed in low-level technical jobs for which some elementary mathematics must be a requirement and in which additional skills in this discipline and in physics or chemistry must be transmitted. We also find a small number of Africans working in routine computer jobs such as operating.

CHAPTER FOUR

MANAGEMENT'S EXPERIENCE OF "BLACK ADVANCEMENT"

In this chapter we report the findings of the interviews that were held with personnel managers about the issue of "Black advancement" in their respective organizations.

The interviews were held in order to obtain data in several areas. A primary objective was to obtain information on the process of "Black advancement" in the organizations, that is, how the decision to embark on such moves came about as well as the phases in its implementation. It soon became apparent that, even with regard to such seemingly straightforward and objective information, subjective factors would invariably intrude. Characteristics of the personnel manager such as his length of service with the organization, his level of seniority and his degree of involvement in the "Black advancement" activities of the organization determined, to a varying extent, the completeness and accuracy of the information obtained and the nature of his interpretation of both past and present activities of the organization. In some cases it was possible to obtain information from several key persons in the company. This procedure enabled the interviewers to construct reasonable accurate accounts of the history of "Black advancement" activities in the organizations while at the same time it revealed the considerable variation in interpretation. Thus much of the data presented here do not constitute the hard, objective facts about the matter but rather those facts as perceived and interpreted by the incumbents of managerial positions in the organizations.

The small number of respondents in this part of the study makes the detection of tendencies and trends almost impossible. For this reason, few tables appear in the chapter and the presentation of results takes the form of a very general discussion with certain phenomena being selected for more detailed treatment.

INTRODUCTION

Preliminary investigations in the company that served as the pilot case sensitized the researchers to the range of terminology used by managers to describe their efforts in the field of "Black advancement". Subtle differences were felt to exist between terms such as "programme", "strategy", "commitment" and "plan", each having implications for the image and accountability of the company. The interviews therefore opened with a question concerning the appropriate and preferred terminology to describe the company's activities.

Only two of the respondents preferred to think of their company's involvement in furthering "Black advancement" as "a way of life" or a "lifestyle". A further two respondents qualified this answer by adding that this could only be said of their head office and not necessarily of other units of the overall organization. In one of the cases where the respondent felt that the term "way of life" captured the essence of "Black advancement" activity in his company, a considerable degree of dissatisfaction was expressed by the Black incumbents of traditionally White jobs in both the head office and the branch unit that were studied. This was a company in which the advancement of Blacks to traditionally White jobs had been implemented since the 1960's and, at times, in defiance of government employment legislation. There was, however, no systematic setting of goals for "Black advancement" nor monitoring of the company's policy of non-discriminatory action. The reasons for this discrepancy in perception are not clear but it is possible to suggest that it is too soon for South African companies to take this view of themselves and their activities in the field of "Black advancement." The case is also interesting because it points to the potential or, in this instance actual discrepancy between enlighted intentions and their implementation and the need for rigorous and systematic montoring of company progress at all levels. It remains for a larger study to both define success with regard to "Black advancement" and to uncover all the factors responsible for progress in this field.

Single instances of a company's activities being characterized as a strategy, a commitment, a programme or as pro-active were recorded. No

positive correlation between preferred terminology and performance could be detected given the small number of cases.

Respondents were asked to outline the elements that constituted the sum of their companies' efforts with regard to "Black advancement". The responses included mention of the following:

- unified pay curve
- equal job opportunities
- equal benefits
- integrated facilities
- financial assistance
- policy statement
- job evaluation
- training

These are elements common to almost all "Black advancement" endeavour. The first three enumerated above may be considered as the objectives of such a programme while the remainder are, to a greater or lesser extent, prerequisites or concomitants. For example, job evaluation, despite the limitations outlined in Part One of this study, is thought by many to be a useful way of detecting and lessening racial bias in payment systems and is therefore a means to achieving equality of pay for equal work. The rubric "training" encompasses a wide range of company activities - job-related training schemes, basic literacy and numeracy courses, bridging programmes and cadet-type schemes. Some of these quite clearly cater solely for Black employees.

Each manager was then asked how he would characterize the general nature of his company's activities with regard to Black advancement. All the respondents felt that in the main, their organizations were operating on an equal opportunity principle. All but one of the respondents, however, admitted to a small amount of window dressing or reverse discrimination in the company. This occurred in a variety of forms - token occupants of jobs, different training programmes, attempts to recruit personnel of a particular population group for positions in the company, more favourable treatment of Black applicants

for loans and differential benefits, for example, a funeral assistance scheme. In two cases the respondents noted that what would seem to be considered as the more serious form of reverse discrimination, namely the promotion of Black employees to token positions, had caused problems in the past and had therefore been discontinued.

None of the managers spontaneously commented upon the existence of other discriminatory practices in their organizations. Chapter six presents the experiences of our Black respondents in this regard.

In the majority of cases, responsibility for the companies' "Black advancement" efforts would appear to rest with the Personnel department or equivalent thereof. In all these cases it was stressed that the support of the top management was essential and that there was an attempt to make "Black advancement" the responsibility of all managers. Two respondents notes that unless there was some distinct locus of responsibility for "Black advancement" however, the effort tended to be dissipated. On the other hand, another respondent argued that if "Black advancement" were made the sole responsibility of a single department or manager, then all other departments would abrogate their responsibility. In only one of the participant companies was there a specialist manager, based at the head office, responsible for "Black advancement". The interviewer gained the impression that he enjoyed considerable status and authority in the organization. This company also happened to be one in which a high degree of satisfaction was expressed by Black respondents occupying traditionally White jobs. The manager concerned worked closely with the Personnel department in the unit of the overall organization selected for study.

THE DECISION TO BECOME INVOLVED IN BLACK ADVANCEMENT

Two questions, one in an open-ended form and the other requiring a rating, were asked of each respondent in order to obtain some idea of the forces behind the organization's decision to open up opportunities for Black employees. The results are tabulated separately below.

TABLE 8

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DECISION TO BECOME INVOLVED IN BLACK ADVANCEMENT

Factors	No. of responses
Manpower planning projections	4
The example of other companies	3
Notions of justice/social responsibility	2
Assessment of the socio-political situation	2
Overseas influences	2
N = multiple responses	

TABLE 9

THE IMPORTANCE OF SELECTED FACTORS IN INFLUENCING THE DECISION TO BECOME INVOLVED IN BLACK ADVANCEMENT

Factor	Degree of importance				
	Very important	Im-portant	Not so important	Not im-portant	No data
Board of Directors	5			1	
Socio-political climate	1	5			
Labour shortages		5	1		
Managers in the company		2	2	2	1
Other		1			
N = 7					

From these two tables it may be concluded that current and/or anticipated problems with regard to the availability of labour played an important role in the organizations' decisions to become involved in "Black advancement". The skills shortage has been examined in some detail in Part One of the overall study. The survey conducted by Schlemmer and Boulanger (1977) in 1972 found that 35 per cent of their managerial respondents gave the shortage of White workers as a reason for wishing to improve the occupational position of Blacks on their staff. If one assumes that this is a situation that must also confront other companies that, however, have not made the same decision, then other factors must be at work to create the differential response. In all likelihood, it is the influence of the Board of Directors that makes the critical difference. Certainly, notions of justice and responsibility would seem

to be far less important, as is the much indicated "influence from overseas", even though three of the companies studied have international connections. It is interesting to note that the example set by progressive companies is possibly important in paving the way for other companies to follow suit.

In all but one of the companies, senior and top managers were involved in the decision to expand the employment opportunities for Black employees. In two of these instances middle managers were also included.

The task of managers in most cases was to report their manpower needs and in only two cases were their opinions and suggestions solicited. In a further case the task of managers was to attempt to influence the opinions of the lower-level management in a positive manner and to develop a commitment at this level to the new policy. In no company was it reported that lower-level management was involved in the decision-making process.

All the companies had issued, at some point or other, statements of their intent to adopt non-discriminatory employment practices.

THE INTRODUCTION OF "BLACK ADVANCEMENT" POLICIES IN THE COMPANIES

A number of questions were asked of the personnel managers about the way in which "Black advancement" policies and activities were introduced into their organizations.

Each respondent was asked to describe how the staff complement that existed at the time of the company's initial advances in this field came to know about their company's new commitment to "Black advancement". In only one of the organizations would the communication of company policy seem to have been done in a systematic manner, that is, through an education programme and by delegating the task of communication to lower-level management personnel. In this particular instance the task was facilitated by the fact that the company con-

cerned was the head office of a fairly large group of companies and one that employed a generally better educated employee. In all other organizations respondents tended to refer to the communication as having occurred "naturally"; in other words, nothing in particular would seem to have been done to inform employees of the changes in company policy and practice. In two of these cases, however, a formal statement from head office had been issued to all employees but these were both companies in which "Black advancement" had been proceeding for some time.

Given the above results, it was not surprising to discover that in most organizations nothing specific had been done to prepare White employees for Black upgrading. In one organization, a detailed survey of attitudes and possible problems resulting from integration was an indirect means of communicating to all staff that the movement of Blacks into traditionally White jobs was imminent. In some cases the problem of preparing Whites for Black upgrading had only been confronted at a later stage when the "Black advancement" issue was incorporated in an induction programme in the one case and in an executive-level course in the other case. One personnel manager felt that White reaction could be managed through a strategy of gradual exposure of White employees to a small number of highly competent Black employees. In his experience this had been a relatively successful method although he felt that their was still a need for research in the area of White reaction and adjustment.

Although the data are incomplete in places, it would seem that labour shortages were an important factor in determining the kinds of traditionally White jobs into which Blacks were placed. In two cases the labour shortages occurred in fields needing the skills of welders, diesetters, technicians and foremen, for example. In another two cases labour shortages were experienced for relatively unskilled jobs, namely cash register machinists and till operators, both of which required only low qualifications. In the case of the former type of position, it is worth noting that whereas a Standard five or six qualification had been required of White employees, a matriculation certificate had been the minimum qualification for the new Coloured recruits. This accounts to some extent for the relatively far-reaching penetration of

these employees, many of whom still work for the organization, into the occupational hierarchy. The position of cashiers would seem to be a typical example of the less desirable secondary labour market type of position (Doeringer and Piore 1972) and one which in times of economic prosperity would be shunned by Whites in favour of better employment. Interestingly, it was mentioned by one interviewee that Whites would seem to be voluntarily vacating certain types of jobs, the example mentioned being the less-specialized type of welding jobs. This creates an opportunity for employers to fill these positions with Blacks. The dynamics of this movement out of certain jobs is interesting and the phenomenon is possibly attributable to factors such as the economic climate, improved alternative job opportunities and anticipated changes in both employer and government labour policy. The management representative of the supermarket chain mentioned that the onset of the current recession had seen an increase in the number of Whites applying for the job of cashier. Other factors determing the kinds of traditionally White jobs into which Blacks were placed included the need for or suitability of having Black employees work in predominantly Black areas. Again, the difficulty of obtaining White labour and the greater choice that such labour has are illustrated. With regard to Blacks in the higher level jobs in the organization, one respondent reported that it was important for the organization to be seen to be putting its policy into practice at this level while another remarked upon the large numbers of Black social science graduates available to fill positions in personnel and industrial relations departments (where again we might add, the work very often entails involvement with mainly Black employees).

Generally the companies seem to have commenced by appointing Blacks to their lower-level vacancies in blue-collar areas and then to higher-level and white-collar positions such as manager and secretary. Two respondents added that their initial promotions were into areas where little White resistance was anticipated. In most cases the upward movement of Black employees was effected by internal promotion.

Respondents were also asked whether selection criteria over and above those related to ability were used in making the initial placements.

In the one case outlined earlier (see : 36) it is clear that "non-ability" criteria (Quinn et al., 1969) were used in the selection of Blacks for the position of foremen. The criteria used, namely punctuality and obedience, exemplify a common stereotype of South African Black employees, that of the deferential "ja-baas". In three cases merit was said to have been the sole criterion used.

White reaction to these early upwardly mobile Black employees had, in the opinion of most of the managerial respondents, been limited to an initial resistance on the part of a few White employees. This had died out within a short period and a certain tolerance was perceived to have developed. White superiors to the first group of Blacks in traditionally White jobs had in most cases accepted the changes that took place. Information gathered from our Black respondents confirms these perceptions. White employees who were reported as having felt particularly threatened by the advancement of Blacks tended to be those with poor educational qualifications and poor prospects for advancement. White artisans were mentioned in two cases as having felt particularly threatened.

CURRENT "BLACK ADVANCEMENT" PRACTICES

In addition to gathering information on the history of Black advancement, we were also interested in the companies' current activities in this field. Quantitative data on the extent of Black upward mobility have been presented in Chapter three and the constituent elements of the companies' efforts with regard to Black advancement in the introduction to this chapter. Further practices are reported here.

Merit was said to be the sole factor considered in the selection of employees. In the case of the banking organization personality, physical appearance and communication abilities were included in the selection criteria, but were said to apply equally to White applicants. Communication skills were, however, noted by both the personnel managers and the supervisors to be an area in which Black employees

experienced difficulties. In two cases the lack of equivalence between African and White educational qualifications was mentioned as a problem in selection. In the banking concern, where a matriculation pass is required for entry into the clerical jobs, cognizance was taken of this discrepancy by lowering the required symbols for African applicants. This is clearly a reversal in policy from the times of the bank's initial moves with regard to "Black advancement" reported earlier.

In the motorcar-manufacturing company an African matriculation pass was considered to be roughly equivalent to midway between a White standard eight and nine. The problems this can cause are noted in Chapter six of this report. Two organizational spokesmen remarked that, as a result of strikes, certain "non-ability" criteria were being employed in the selection of staff. In the one case, Africans were no longer being employed and in the other case, older, married men with children were favoured in selection. In two companies the TATZ test was used as an aid in selection. The problems related to the validity of such tests were noted in Part One of this study (Human et al., 1984). The views of managers reported here should be assessed in conjunction with those of our Black respondents (reported in Chapter six), many of whom did not consider that their employers were impartial in the selection and promotion processes.

The most common reaction of managers to questions concerning the setting of goals for and monitoring of "Black advancement" activities was that such practices would be "unnatural" and "forced" and that they would encourage reverse discriminatory practices. The retention of the merit criterion for selection placement and promotion was of paramount importance. However, despite these feelings, there was one company which did incorporate "Black advancement" targets into its manpower planning and, in four other cases, it would seem that, although progress is measured and records kept, goal setting and attainment are subject to the merit criterion.

Those companies which are part of large decentralized groups or corporations were required to send annual progress reports to their head offices. The interviewers gained the impression and half of the

respondents concerned confirmed that these often resulted in nothing but formalities and that few or no penalties attached to poor performance. This state of affairs highlights again the difficulty of gaining the support and interest of lower-level managers, especially those located in units of the organization other than the head office. Immediate supervisors or foremen were acknowledged by all respondents to play an important role in the selection of staff and their recommendation for promotion and additional training.

With regard to the integration of facilities, the respondents reported some initial resistance which died out shortly afterwards. In three cases it was noted that White female staff reacted most negatively to the integration of facilities. In one company it had been necessary for a doctor to be brought in to dispel myths about the transmission of diseases while in another, White female staff had deliberately tried to sabotage the policy by blocking the toilets and trying to make the Black female staff appear responsible. Most respondents agreed that Black toilet and eating habits only presented a problem for the lower-level staff, if at all.

PROBLEMS AND SUCCESSES

Respondents were asked to give a general assessment of the performance of their Black employees holding traditionally White jobs in the organizations. In the majority of cases it was said that performance varied according to the individual and that it was impossible to generalize. In two cases it had been noted that the initial performance of such employees had not matched up to that of Whites but that in most cases Black performance was now equivalent.

An indication of the areas in which Black incumbents of traditionally White jobs were thought to fall short was obtained from the personnel managers. The range of responses included mention of shortcomings with respect to specifically Western/capitalist norms, for example punctuality, understanding of business concepts, acceptance of bribes. A number of respondents felt that Black employees did not know how to handle authority and that it was either abused or employees were not

sufficiently assertive for the kinds of jobs they occupied. Literacy and communication problems were mentioned by the representative of the motorcar-manufacturing company as problems for their Black foremen. Problem-solving, analytical and creative thinking skills were also identified as shortcomings by a number of the respondents. Areas identified by the managers as being those in which Blacks excelled were routine work, socializing with staff members of other race groups and dealing with other Black staff.

Quantitative data on the costs incurred by the introduction of Black advancement in the companies were unobtainable yet all managers agreed that training schemes in particular had been responsible to a large extent for the increase in costs to the company. In only one case were savings reported and these were seen to take the form of improved morale, lower staff turnover and increased security.

Each respondent was asked whether the nature of the jobs opened up to Blacks had been changed in any way so as to accommodate any perceived shortcomings. This was reported to have happened in some organizations. The case concerning the foremen in the motorcar-manufacturing company is one instance of this while in the manufacturing organization some responsibilities were reported as having been removed from certain jobs. It is interesting to note that in the appliance company the clerical staff complained they were not allowed to do the work for which they were employed while the manager interviewed did not report this.

Respondents were asked to summarize the major problems they experienced in the opening up of opportunities to Black employees. They are listed below and a few are selected for expanded treatment:

- limited job opportunities for Blacks in a low-skill industry
- legislation
- White attitudes
- lack of commitment on the part of responsible staff down the line
- poor educational level of Blacks
- the culture gap

- lack of support from other Blacks in the organization
- inaccurate job placement.

The Group Areas Act was singled out by two respondents as a factor inhibiting "Black advancement". In the one instance, it was considered an obstacle to the development of Black trainee junior executive staff whose work would require them to move around the country to gain experience in different regions.

The second case concerned the position of Black supervisory employees. The difficulties inherent in the supervisory position are noted in greater detail in Chapter six. All that need be recorded here is that the exercise of authority was thought by the management representative concerned to be made more difficult by the fact that the Group Areas Act forced a foreman to live in close proximity to and under the same conditions as the men and women he had to supervise during working hours. The foreman was seen to be particularly vulnerable to victimization during strike activity. Closely related to this perception is that of the lack of support given to the upwardly mobile few by the other Blacks in the company. The comment concerning the lack of job opportunities for Blacks in certain types of business concerns draws our attention to the problem-fraught nature of assessing company performance with regard to Black advancement. Generally, White attitudes were seen to have improved greatly over time although Whites in certain geo-cultural areas were considered to be particularly inflexible in this regard (see also Prion et al., 1983).

Respondents were asked to indicate the areas that, in the light of their experiences, they considered the easiest in which to advance Blacks and those in which they thought "Black advancement" was the most difficult to implement. In two cases, the production floor was named as the easiest area in which to advance Blacks. In both cases the reason given was that Blacks who had gained expertise in some demonstrable area would gain the respect of White employees. These answers indicate the acceptance on the part of Whites of the idea of advancement on merit. One respondent felt the personnel department was the best area in which to employ Blacks as this department was usually committed to the Black advancement policy of the company.

Positions entailing communication, written or oral, with the public were named as areas in which Black advancement was most difficult. Difficulties with language usage were mentioned specifically. Respondents also mentioned very senior and foreman positions as being difficult for Blacks to break into.

Finally, the respondents were asked to assess their overall performance in the field of "Black advancement". Most felt that they had been relatively successful given the constraints, outlined above, under which they worked.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

All respondents felt that their organization would not have any problems in continuing to provide opportunities for Blacks in traditionally White areas of employment, subject to prevailing economic conditions. In one case the occurrence of Black strike activity was said to be a possible drawback, while in another it was felt that the company would make progress if it were not forced to employ certain numbers of Blacks as this would imply a lowering of standards. Finally one manager qualified his answer by pointing to the highly-specialized nature of the higher-level White job in his company. These were positions for which it could prove difficult to find a White let alone a Black candidate.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE VIEWS OF THE SUPERVISORS

This chapter records the information obtained from the short interviews that were held with the supervisors of the Black respondents in traditionally White jobs. In all, seventeen supervisors were interviewed. The presentation of results takes the same form as in Chapter four.

The positions occupied by the respondents ranged from fairly low-level supervisors, such as the supermarket check-out chargehand and the warehouse supervisor, to a senior manager in accounting. The average time spent in the employment of the company was ten years, the range being from 34 years to ten months.

A respondent's feelings about his company's policy of "Black advancement" would seem to be related to the seniority of his position, with more senior supervisors being more positive and the more junior supervisors being less enthusiastic. The respondents falling into this latter category tended to qualify their answers with comments about the necessity of ensuring that advancement be equal for all employees, the negative characteristics of Black employees or the inevitability of Black upward mobility. The more senior and positve managers tended to qualify their answers with references to the gap that existed between policy and implementation.

Respondents were asked whether they would describe their companies' activities in the field of "Black advancement" as equal opportunity in nature or as doing more for Black employees than for White staff. The responses were spread almost evenly over the three possibilities - reverse discrimination, reverse discrimination in some respects and equal opportunity. A correspondence between the perception of the nature of the company's activities and level of seniority was not clearly demonstrated in this instance. Most of the responses falling into the second category, "reverse discrimination in some respects", referred to the additional housing and educational assistance given to Blacks and the additional or specialized training they received. One

respondent remarked that the advent of "Black advancement" had not taken away anything from Whites. Amongst the responses from supervisors who felt that their companies were practising reverse discrimination, two warrant special mention. The first concerns a plant engineer who commented on what he thought to be the company's overly accommodating attitude to Black trade unionism, in addition to other practices. Although this is but one instance, it is possible that many Whites identify "Black advancement" with the acceptance of Black trade unionism in a negative way. The second comment falling in this category was made by a supermarket supervisor of cashiers. The respondent felt that the influx of Blacks into a formerly traditional White job had driven wages down to the point where Whites would no longer seriously consider taking a till-operating job. This was felt to be discriminatory because the respondent felt that Whites had had an avenue of employment taken away from them.

Each respondent was asked to indicate very broadly how other managerial staff and employees felt about the company's Black advancement policy". Equal numbers of respondents felt that they either could not comment or that the attitudes of managers varied considerably. One respondent noted that most lower managerial staff were opposed to the policy and had reacted by "opting out", for example, by becoming lax with respect to discipline. In only three cases were positive answers recorded. One of these respondents pointed to the context in which "Black advancement" had occurred as a possible explanation for the overall acceptance of "Black advancement" by managerial staff. The small size of the factory, the long service records of both managerial staff and the Black employees who were now in traditionally White jobs and the consequent fact that the managers knew their staff exceptionally well were felt to be factors conducive to acceptance.

The supervisors' perceptions of the attitudes of other employees to the companies' "Black advancement" policies showed no marked pattern. Five respondents felt that employees accepted it while seven felt that attitudes varied. Whites who had reached their peak in the lower level jobs and unqualified Whites were, however, clearly identified as the categories of employee who felt threatened by the policies of "Black advancement".

Most of the respondents felt that the Black incumbents of traditionally White jobs were performing adequately. In only five cases were answers received that could definitely be classified as negative. These were answers in which reference was made to laziness, slowness, language problems and a tendency to learn by rote. Other respondents qualified their more positive answers with references to difficulties in controlling staff, mixing socially, creative thinking and assertiveness, shortcomings not unlike those noted by the personnel managers and recorded in Chapter four. The more senior respondents tended to give the more positive answers and the more junior respondents the negative responses.

The majority of respondents reported that Blacks in traditionally White jobs would seem to be comfortable in their new job roles while three of these respondents commented on the more positive work attitudes evinced by Blacks who had been promoted into these positions. In only three cases was it reported that the Black employees felt insecure, lacked confidence or were beset by pressures from Black subordinates.

In most cases it was reported that the same responsibilities and duties were given to Blacks who moved into traditionally White jobs as would have been the case had the incumbent been White. Any modifications that did take place would seem to take the form of a bridging period during which time the Black employee was closely supervised and gradually introduced to all the requirements and responsibilities of the position.

Most respondents reported that they experienced no problems in supervising their Black employees in traditionally White jobs. The balance of the respondents referred to problems of arrogance, discipline and dislike of criticism and to the need to treat some Black employees "like children", all of which made supervision of Black employees irritating and frustrating.

The interviews were concluded with two questions for the respondents. One asked whether the respondent felt that the organization was doing the right thing with regard to "Black advancement" while the second asked for suggestions in this regard.

Despite the reservations expressed by some respondents, the majority felt that their companies were doing the right thing with regard to "Black advancement" with only one decidedly negative answer being received. Three respondents commented additionally that their companies were correct in avoiding reverse discrimination while another stressed the importance of good selection.

A variety of suggestions were obtained from the supervisors regarding what they thought should be done about "Black advancement". Training of Blacks featured amongst the responses as did the training of White supervisors in Black management. One of the respondents making this latter suggestion felt that there was a need on the part of White managers to understand and accept the culture gap. A number of other respondents felt that companies should pay greater attention to the selection process as this was felt to be an area in which mistakes were made. Miscellaneous answers referred to the need to provide for the education of employees' children, to institute a merit system to overcome some of the poor work habits of Black employees such as absenteeism, lack of loyalty and lack of punctuality, and the need for job duties to be explained to the Black employee. The only response with a negative orientation concerned the employment of an equal number of Whites.

The variation in our findings and the tendency for the orientations of our respondents to the issues involved in "Black advancement" to correlate with their level of seniority are not unexpected. It is in the lower grade supervisory positions that the mechanism of race has been most widely used to effect social closure and is now being eroded most rapidly. The responses given by the supervisor of cashiers show that usurpation by ineligibles of these positions is seen to have almost fully succeeded and the plea this respondent makes for an equal number of White cashiers to be employed may be seen as an attempt to have race reinstated, to some extent, as an exclusionary criterion. Similarly, the response of the plant engineer correctly indentifies organized collective strength as the means whereby privileged positions are in many cases usurped. Respondents in more senior supervisory positions are protected to a greater extent by the possession of educational

qualifications and credentials which continue to regulate access to their positions. Their greater acceptance of their companies' "Black advancement" activities is therefore understandable.

CHAPTER SIX

THE EXPERIENCES OF BLACKS IN TRADITIONALLY WHITE JOBS

In this chapter we report the balance of the findings from the interviews that were held with Black employees who occupy positions in their employing organizations that five to ten years ago would usually have been occupied by Whites.

The data concerning the nature of the jobs the respondents hold and the characteristics of the employees themselves are recorded in Appendix B of this report. The major purpose of the interviews was, however, to probe the attitudes and experiences of people who had been selected by their employers to fill traditionally White jobs and so to deepen our understanding of their upward mobility in a way that the analysis of wage and occupational data alone cannot.

We are reasonably confident that the information gathered in these interviews is an honest reflection of the respondents' views and experiences. Guarantees of confidentiality were made at the beginning of each interview and the purpose of the project was explained.

BLACK EXPERIENCES OF TRADITIONALLY WHITE WORK

Amongst the preliminary questions asked of respondents were two concerning what they liked and disliked about their jobs. The questions were posed to the respondents in order to obtain some idea of their everyday experience of their jobs and to provide a context in which the answers to other more sensitive questions might be assessed. The responses are recorded in the tables below.

The tables show a range of responses that could have been expected from any group of respondents regardless of their racial classification. A fair number of employees found their jobs challenging and interesting. Technicians, banking supervisory staff and the one computer operator are the categories of employees finding these the most pleasant aspects of their job. The category "working with people" also received a high

number of mentions, in this case from supervisory staff in production, employees in various personnel functions, a secretary and the sole saleslady in the group.

TABLE 10

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "WHAT DO YOU LIKE MOST ABOUT YOUR JOB?"

Job characteristic	No. of responses
Challenge/problem-solving/learning aspect	16
Working with people	11
Responsibility/trust	4
Variety	3
Feel involved in the company	3
Doing useful work	2
Money good	2
Easy nature of job	2
Everything about the job	2
Using skills	1
Nothing, don't like the job	10

N = multiple responses possible

TABLE 11

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "WHAT DO YOU DISLIKE ABOUT YOUR JOB?"

Job characteristic	No. of responses
Routine/lacks challenge	9
Like it	8
Problems with supervisor	6
Administrative aspect of the job	6
Conflicts on the job	5
Customers' attitudes and behaviours	4
Overworked	3
Not given full opportunity to learn	3
Gets what others do not want to do	2
No scope for advancement	2
Poor wages	2
Lacks responsibility	1
Dislike it in every respect	1

N = Multiple responses possible

Conversely, very few of the clerical staff in organizations other than the bank clerk and none of the cashiers found their work stimulating. These were the two groups of respondents who tended to report that they found nothing satisfying in their work. Technicians involved in servicing equipment in customers' homes and, of course, cashiers mentioned customer attitudes as an aspect of the job they did not like.

It is worth noting at this point that the responses gained from these two questions reflect something about the very nature of the jobs concerned, in addition to revealing personal attitudes or the existence of racial discrimination. For example, the job of cashier is one that, regardless of the race or sex of the incumbent, is bound to generate a high degree of frustration. Till breakdowns, unmarked goods, the necessity of waiting for a supervisor's signature and long queues generate frustration on the part of the customer and this is then frequently vented on the cashier. In addition, the job is monotonous and badly paid and yet it entails responsibility for considerable sums of money as well as long hours. The prospects for advancement are poor.

The job reflects many of the characteristics of jobs in the secondary labour market (Doeringer and Piore, 1971). It is interesting to note, moreover, that while jobs in the secondary labour market generally have a high labour turnover, the cashiers interviewed felt that unlike Whites, they were unable to leave the job with equivalent ease and find alternative and better employment, because of the existence of racial discrimination in the South African labour market. Black female cashiers would then seem to be "trapped" in the secondary labour market. The management representative of the employing organization confirmed the Black cashiers' impressions and commented that, despite the current recessionary conditions, Whites who took cashier jobs remained in them for only a short while.

THE EXPERIENCE OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION ON THE JOB

In order to distinguish more clearly between the inherently negative characteristics of the jobs and racially based factors, respondents

were asked whether they felt that being Black made it more difficult for them to do the job than would be the case for a White person. The answes are tabulated below, once again in some detail. A closer look at some of those instances in which race is perceived to play a role may prove enlightening. Use is made of data collected by observation and from other questions in the interview to sketch out the background circumstances of each case.

TABLE 12

RESPONSES TO A QUESTION ASKING WHETHER BEING BLACK MAKES IT MORE DIFFICULT TO PERFORM ON THE JOB

Response	No. of respones
No	24
Not really	3
Don't know	3
No data	2
yes	30
N = 62	
Details of experiences (multiple responses possible)	
Lacks authority/influence over Whites/management	2
Lack of customer confidence	5
Threatened with loss of job	2
Given extra work/tasks	8
Made to take on non-job related tasks	3
Reprimanded unfairly	3
Language problems	1
Not promoted	4
Management lacks confidence in Blacks	3

(a) Status and authority incongruencies in the workplace

One instance in which race would seem to have played a role concerns an employee in a technical position whose promotion to what would seem to be a supervisory position - the respondent was not sure of his job title - was not officially announced in the organization. Besides creating a feeling of unhappiness and disgruntlement, the situation was felt to make the exercise of authority in the job unnecessarily proble-

matic. The respondent felt that this authority vacuum allowed other managers to interfere in his work and that he himself did not know to whom he had to report. He also claimed that he had not been allowed to supervise a White apprentice who had instead to work directly under the more senior and White workshop manager. In view of these circumstances it is not surprising that the respondent felt that his work was not appreciated, that the company would rather recruit externally than promote a Black employee and that he saw the company as having done nothing with regard to upgrading Blacks. Nonetheless, the respondent found his work challenging and interesting.

(b) White supervisory attitudes

The cashiers in our group of respondents, in addition to reporting all the negative characteristics of the job that were noted earlier, mentioned a number of other factors that clearly exhibit the existence of racial discrimination. Several of the cashiers interviewed felt that they were treated differently by their supervisors from White cashiers, including White casual staff. They reported that they were watched to ensure that they did not underring for Black customers, that they were reprimanded in the presence of customers whereas White cashiers were not, and that packers were moved from behind Black-manned tills to pack for White cashiers, resulting in additional work for the Black cashiers, longer queues and longer hours. A further complaint voiced by the cashiers was the supervisor's habit of always taking the part of the customer in the event of a complaint at the expense of the dignity of the cashiers. This situation reflects the man-in-the-middle dilemma experienced by all supervisors (Prion et al., 1983) but in this particular context, the difficulties entailed by such a relationship are perceived to be exacerbated by racially discriminatory practices and attitudes.

(c) Customer attitudes

Black technicians who service appliances in clients' homes reported a fair but decreasing degree of customer resistance. One technician said: "There are problems but they are fading. Some customers don't like to

see a Black technician. But now it is down to about one case a month". In the words of another technician "Some customers still think Blacks are only assistants and want to know where the White technician is. But once they see the job done then they are satisfied. They are quite concerned to see a Black repairing appliances. They don't have the confidence in us. Some even refuse to let us work on their appliances - in some areas - but it's changing."

The attitudes and behaviour of White customers created additional problems for cashiers who found it difficult to apply the policy of "the customer is always right" in the face of verbal abuse and distinctly different behaviour from that meted out to the White cashiers.

(d) The unequal distribution of additional tasks

One group of clerical employees felt that they were being called upon to do tasks that were not only not part of their job but of a menial nature. Examples of having to carry boxes and having to revert to heavy-duty driving, a previously held occupation in the company, were cited by the respondents. One respondent reported his experiences as follows: "I also have to off-load, etcetera. In December I had to help as driver for two weeks while my work piled up. Nobody helped me get my work up to date ... If I was White they would not treat me the same way as they are treating us".

It may be a legitimate expectation on the part of management that staff should be prepared to help out with tasks other than those directly related to their job. However, in an employment context where other forms of discrimination are reported to exist, it is understandable that this expectation is interpreted as being unjustly directed at Black employees. After having obtained a white-collar job and a traditionally White job in the face of considerable odds, the Black clerical employee must then suffer the indignity and, possibly, the social embarrassment of having to revert to work that is often both manual and menial.

Another account from the same group of employees highlights the same points: "A call to reception for a White to collect her file or telex or something from another branch. She will ask one of us, just because we are Black - it is not our job. They treat us like servants. I have even been sent to get a glass of water for example. When we complain, admin. feels there is nothing wrong - they see it as a friend helping."

In a similar vein a secretary in another organization reported that she was asked by her superiors to perform tasks that they would not have dared to ask of a White secretary. She felt that it was also more difficult for a Black person to refuse to undertake such tasks as they were then labelled "cheeky". In this case it would seem that the flexible service and feminine nature of the secretarial occupation is further exploited when the incumbent is a Black female.

(e) The unequal distribution of work tasks

Another group of clerical employees reported that they were not allowed to do the work for which they were employed, namely stock reconciliation and were, instead, restricted to the more routine and less challenging aspects of the job. Not only were they bored with the job but they also felt that they were not being given a full opportunity to learn the job and were therefore being deprived of the possibility of advancing themselves. At the same time, however, they felt that the White women with whom they worked were given easier and smaller tasks to do and were treated with greater respect. Some quotations from the interviews should serve to illustrate these points more graphically. "At first I was told that he (the supervisor) will keep an eye on my work and if I do not perform well I will be out. The same is not said to Whites." (The experience of two clerical employees in the organization.)

"Information (about the job) is limited. The job is more or less on a stereotyped basis. We make calculations but are not told the reason or whether we did the right thing or not." (A similar experience was reported by another clerk in the organization and by the computer operator.)

"The White lady with us does not have to do it (additional manual work) with the result that she gets more work done than us. But we are measured against the amount of work that she does." (A male clerical employee.)

"The White woman with us has things much easier. He (the supervisor) communicates more with her. In the listing she gets the easier jobs. She gets jobs well in advance so that she gets her work done earlier and he can prove us to be slow." (This respondent also commented on the unfair distribution of additional tasks in the department.)

(f) Black attitudes and the man-in-the-middle

One of the areas in which Black graduates are being employed in increasing numbers is in the sphere of personnel/industrial relations. These are occupations that entail a number of contradictory demands (Watson, 1980) and these are exaggerated in a racially stratified work setting. A Black personnel manager, deeply involved in industrial relations expressed what Human (1981) has characterized as the man-in-the-middle dilemma. An aspect of his job that this respondent both disliked and found to be exacerbated by the fact that he was Black, was being expected by other Black employees to take their side in management/employee disputes, despite the fact that he was and considered himself part of management. This example illustrates the additional stresses for Black upwardly mobile employees that can emanate from the attitudes of other Black employees in the organization.

Respondents were also asked whether their experiences of upward mobility matched with the commonly expressed view that Blacks have to try harder than Whites to prove their worth to the organization.

In addition to the stresses imposed by being first generation Blacks in traditionally White jobs and the hardships incurred in the passage of upward mobility, the majority of respondents felt that they had to try harder than Whites to prove themselves in the organization.

TABLE 13

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "HAVE YOU HAD TO TRY HARDER IN ORDER TO PROVE YOUR WORTH TO THE COMPANY THAN A SIMILARLY PLACED WHITE WOULD HAVE HAD TO?"

Response	No. of responses
No	16
yes	42
Qualified replies	2
No data	2
N = 62	

The two answers appearing in the "qualified response" category bear closer examination. One respondent was an accounting assistant who had already acquired some initial qualifications in the field and enjoyed his job. In reply to this question he said that Blacks had first to obtain the same qualifications as Whites if they were to be promoted to better positions. The respondent was himself engaged in further job-related studies.

The second response falling in this category came from a technician who replied to the question: "Not necessarily. But it is standing, it does happen. Blacks also like to prove that they can do it. It comes from the climate (socio-political) and the individual. Maybe after about two decades we will overcome this."

These two responses indicate the source of this additional pressure. In the first instance, the need to try harder is seen to derive from the objectively lower and different educational qualifications and standards. In the second case the need is seen to originate in the socio-political climate of South Africa and to work itself out through the individual's motivation and will. Details of the respondents' perception of the current climate were unfortunately not obtained.

Some respondents who felt that the statement captured their own experiences of upward mobility volunteered additional comments that are recorded below:

"I agree we have noticed that we are pushed to a level which they set. But a White will be left to do his job even if he does not perform well." (A clerical employee.)

"Yes I had to work harder than two white colleagues in the garage who had assistants. I was told that I had to work harder or leave the job." (An accounting assistant, previously working in the garage of the company.)

"They didn't seem to have confidence (in me). I was put onto a three-month probation period, that was not normal and my salary was only increased afterwards." (A general foreman in a factory.)

"Yes, I did try harder. It was to avoid problems." (A handyman in a factory.)

"In the beginning, yes. I was three years doing the job before being made departmental head - that's too long. I've achieved it now." (a departmental head, administrative work.)

"Yes, because of the long time it has taken me to get up. I'm Black and female." (A manager's assistant.)

"I feel the same. Whites don't bother too much because it is easy for them to change jobs." (A clerical employee.)

PERCEPTIONS OF ADEQUACY

Each respondent was asked whether he felt fully qualified to do his present job and, as a follow-up, whether he needed more training in his particular line of work.

TABLE 14

RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF WHETHER THEY ARE FULLY QUALIFIED TO DO THE JOB

Response	No. of responses
Yes	52
No	6
No data	3
N = 62	

The table above shows that most of the respondents in the study felt fully qualified to do their jobs. In fact, four of these reported that they were over-qualified for their present job. Two of these respondents were graduates occupying clerical positions in a company whose policy it is to make all employees begin at the bottom of the company hierarchy. The other respondents were clerical employees, both of whom had matriculation certificates and one of whom had a further qualification in small business management from a commercial college. They both agreed that their respective jobs required only a Standard eight level of education and the company clerk added that his supervisor had spent only two or three days showing him how to do the job. It may be concluded from these findings that a stereotyped criterion used in the screening and selection of Black personnel, namely that of treating a Black matriculation certificate as roughly equivalent to a White Standard eight, should be reassessed and allowance made for the possibility of exceptions to this norm, should the norm be shown to be valid in the first place.

Of those respondents who did not feel qualified to do the job, five had not occupied their positions for long and therefore could not have been expected to answer otherwise. The sixth case was a supervisor of a predominantly Black and low-level routine non-manual department who felt that he needed additional training in supervising people.

Despite the high level of confidence expressed by the respondents, several felt that they needed additional training. The types of training mentioned by these respondents fell into several categories. Technicians and secretaries felt that they needed to be kept up to date

with new technological developments as did one supervisor of a production line. Clerical staff mentioned a need for both broader experience and in-depth training in specialized areas. Training in the management of people was felt to be necessary by most supervisors and one of the cashiers. Knowledge about computers was regarded as necessary by a number of employees, ranging from a supervisor in an administrative position to a regional manager and, of course, by employees working closely with computers. A number of employees mentioned that the additional training was necessary if they were to advance in the organization.

PERCEPTIONS OF WHITE AND BLACK ATTITUDES

A number of questions were asked of our respondents in order to obtain an idea of their perceptions of White attitudes and behaviours. The responses are recorded in Tables 15 to 17.

A small majority of respondents reported that the attitudes of higher placed Whites in their organizations to their occupation of traditionally White jobs had been favourable. In several cases it had been these very people who had in some way helped the respondent move into his present position. Thirteen of the respondents reported that the attitudes of higher-level Whites in their organizations had either not posed any problems or that they had been neutral or indifferent. Another thirteen respondents, however, reported mixed reactions from senior White staff. It is encouraging to note that only five respondents reported negative reactions to their movement into traditionally White positions.

For most of the respondents, the question concerning the reactions of Whites occupying positions lower than those occupied by themselves was simply not applicable as Blacks tended to dominate the lowest level occupations in the companies. There were isolated instances where a respondent reported that one or two such emloyees had left the company or that the White employees felt threatened or "upset" or found it difficult to accept. Again, it is encouraging to see from the data that there were only five instances in which the reactions of such employees

can definitely be classified as negative and seven in which the response is more positive.

The majority of the respondents reported that Whites on an equivalent level to them had reacted favourably to their occupation of a traditionally White job. Very few instances of a negative reaction were recorded.

The data presented in Chapter four on the managers' assessments and experiences of White reaction to Black upward mobility reinforce the impressions gathered in these interviews. If we compare our findings with those of a study conducted in 1972 by Schlemmer and Boulanger (Schlemmer and Webster, 1977) in which resistance of White employees headed the list (43 % of firms) of factors thought, by management representatives, to inhibit the upward mobility of Blacks, then we may suggest that the "White-backlash" has materialized neither to the extent nor with the force anticipated. This is not to say that discriminatory behaviour and attitudes on the part of Whites no longer exist in the workplace. Our data show that they do indeed persist and they must be tackled by any management concerned to create a working environment in which there are opportunities for development, upward mobility and job satisfaction. Subject to more rigorous examination, we merely suggest that what has been a fear of some and an excuse for others is possibly unfounded.

TABEL 15

RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE REACTIONS OF MORE SENIOR WHITES TO THEIR OCCUPATION OF TRADITIONALLY WHITE JOBS

Reaction	No. of responses
Displeasure	5
Initial resistance	2
Varied	13
Pleasure	14
No problems	15
Don't know	4
N/A - were not the first Blacks in the job	9
N = 62	

TABLE 16

RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE REACTIONS OF LOWER LEVEL WHITES TO THEIR OCCUPATION OF TRADITIONALLY WHITE JOBS

Reaction	No. of responses
Unproblematic/acceptance	8
Negative	4
Varied	4
Don't know	6
No data	6
Not applicable	34
N = 62	

TABLE 17

RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE REACTIONS OF WHITES ON AN EQUIVALENT LEVEL TO THEIR OCCUPATION OF TRADITIONALLY WHITE JOBS

Reaction	No. of responses
Unproblematic	21
Negative	5
Varied	4
Resigned	2
Not applicable - occupied "Black" job	14
Don't know	7
No data	9
N = 62	

TABLE 18

RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE REACTIONS OF OTHER BLACK EMPLOYEES TO THEIR OCCUPATION OF TRADITIONALLY WHITE JOBS

Reaction	No. of responses
Pleasure	21
Varied	6
Unproblematic	12
negative	2
Jealous	8
Not applicable	3
Don't know	6
No data	4
N = 62	

Black employees in traditionally White jobs were also asked about the reactions of Blacks who occupied lower level positions in the organizations, that is traditionally Black jobs. The majority of the respondents reported that the news of their promotion had been favourably received. Mixed reactions were reported in eight cases. Some respondents reported that other Black employees felt jealous of their success. In two of these cases it was noted that the employees concerned were older and not as well educated as the respondents, a finding similar to that of the Meyer and Dean Lee (date of publication unknown) study of women in traditionally male jobs.

Finally, respondents were asked whether they thought that, generally speaking, the attitudes of White people had changed in response to the increasing movement of Blacks into the better types of jobs in companies.

TABLE 19

PERCEIVED CHANGES IN THE ATTITUDES OF WHITES DUE TO THE UPWARD MOBILITY OF BLACKS

Response	No. of responses
Yes, attitudes have changed	13
They only tolerate us	14
Yes, but in the workplace only	5
Slow changes	6
Varies amongst people	9
No, no change	7
Depends on the seniority of the Black person's job	2
Not sure	3
No data	3
N = 62	

A small majority of respondents felt that Whites merely tolerated their presence in the workplace and that there had been no fundamental change in White attitudes. Closely related to this type of response are the perceptions of five respondents who reported that White attitudes and behaviour had changed but only with regard to relationships in the workplace. Political attitudes and the avoidance of social interaction

outside of working hours were not seen to have changed. One clerical respondent reported that although a White colleague would behave in a normal manner in the office, she would snub her should they happen to meet in the street. A number of respondents maintained an open attitude saying that they could not generalize about the statement as changes in attitude varied from person to person. Only seven respondents perceived no change in White attitudes.

FURTHER EXPERIENCES OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE WORKPLACE

Respondents spontaneously attested to the existence of racial discrimination at several points in the interview. Nonetheless, specific questions were asked of the respondents about such practices. Some of the incidents and accounts have already been recorded in the text and the remainder are reported here.

All the participant companies have a policy of integrated facilities. It would seem, however, from the variety of responses elicited from respondents in each organization, that the policies are not always being implemented uniformly and that some confusion exists. It is not always clear from the answers we received why this segregation in the use of facilities persists. In odd instances, respondents referred to force of habit, a "natural" segregation taking place, the physical structure of the company's premises in relation to the work areas which are either predominantly Black or White or the voluntary withdrawal by Whites from the use of certain facilities. At one company there were two canteens segregated by job grade, this effectively separating Whites from the majority of Black employees. Respondents from another company mentioned that it was the toilets for blue-collar workers only that were segregated.

"Incidents" with regard to the integration of facilities were mentioned in only ten cases and in six of these, were reported as having occurred at the onset of integration only. Seven respondents reported that they knew of no such incidents having occurred in their companies. It would seem therefore that White employees are able to habituated themselves to shared facilities.

In one instance it was mentioned that the facilities used mainly by Blacks were not of the same standard as those provided for Whites. It is interesting to note that this situation existed in a branch of a large company where head office policy on integrated facilities was also being ignored in other respects. In another organization minor differences in the quality of utensils used by the Black clerical employees - teaspoons, cups and the teapot - assumed a significance that one would usually find inappropriate, except that, as with the case reported above, this occurred in an organization in which other forms of discrimination were reported to occur.

We can conclude that, while the integration of facilities in all organizations need not be unduly problematic, management should be careful to implement the policy in an equitable fashion. To do so would be to prevent what management would see as a relatively minor factor from assuming a disproportionate significance in the perception of Black employees and to retard the reinforcement of negative White stereotypes regarding the personal habits of people of colour.

Respondents were asked whether, when there were vacancies in their companies, management tended to hire new employees from outside or to promote internally.

TABLE 20
RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF COMPANY RECRUITMENT POLICY

Policy type	No. of responses
Internal promotion	30
External recruitment with race being a factor	13
Senior/specialist posts external and white; other posts open to all internally	12
Don't know	7
N = 62	

The large number of responses for the "internal promotion" category comes predominantly from clerical graduate respondents, those employed in the banking sector, where promotion has traditionally been the means

of filling vacancies and a number of supervisors in a manufacturing company. These are positions into which and from which promotion is most likely to occur because of the nature of the work involved. (See Human et al., 1984) for a reference to banking in this regard.) An interesting point is that several respondents felt that even though a policy of non-racial promotion was being implemented fairly at the lower levels of the company, there was still a tendency for management to recruit from outside for Whites to fill the more senior posts.

A relatively small number of respondents, predominantly in clerical positions reported at other points in the interview that they had themselves been passed over for promotion in favour of a White person. We have reported earlier two other cases in which promotion was slow to come.

An interesting case concerns a clerical employee who reported that management had split a higher level job into two posts rather than promote a Black employee into the job. Whether or not management would have followed this strategy for any other reasons, it still remains an event perceived by Black employees to have been discriminatory and one for which no acceptable reason, indeed no reason at all, was given. Such deskilling strategies must surely engender feelings of having been cheated out of the possibility of an advance in the occupational hierarchy and add to feelings of being trapped in a dead-end job.

Information was also gathered from respondents about their companies' attempts to recruit Blacks for vacancies in the companies that had to be filled externally.

At first glance it would appear that the majority of respondents feel that their companies do not try to hire Blacks for vacant positions. However, despite the difference in terminology, the contexts of the interviews justify the conflation of the first two categories; this correction balances the picture somewhat. The responses in the category "No, does not try to hire Africans" were made by the employees of a company that had recently experienced a strike among its African staff and had, as a result, embarked on a strategy of employing Coloureds and

Whites. The fifth category "Hires Blacks for certain positions only" confirms the impression outlined earlier that upward mobility is being sponsored for the lower level traditionally White jobs but not for more senior positions.

TABLE 21

RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR COMPANY'S ATTEMPTS TO RECRUIT BLACKS

Type of response	No. of responses
Yes, does try to hire Blacks	10
Open to all people	9
No, does not try to hire Blacks	12
No, does not try to hire Africans	8
Hires Blacks for certain positions only	11
Internal promotion system operates	2
Don't know	10
N = 62	

PERCEPTIONS OF INTERNAL "BLACK ADVANCEMENT" ACTIVITIES

Respondents were asked to air their views on their companies' efforts in the field of "Black advancement" - what they thought the companies were doing, how they felt about their choice of activities (or inactivity), whether they felt the companies were succeeding, and what they thought the companies should be doing in this field.

Table 22 records the responses to a very general question that was asked - "What is the management here doing to upgrade Blacks?"

The negative answers were given by the respondents who earlier had expressed considerable dissatisfaction about conditions in their employing organizations, namely cashiers and clerks. A number of technicians who had at an earlier stage in their interviews remarked upon the ceiling imposed by the company on their upward mobility also fell into this response category. The clerks and technicians were employed in organizations with high profiles in the "Black advancement" field.

TABLE 22

RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF WHAT THEIR MANAGEMENT WAS DOING WITH REGARD TO BLACK ADVANCEMENT

Management action	No. of responses
Nothing	27
Little	7
Training	18
Educational assistance	3
Housing and welfare assistance	3
Opening up opportunities	10
Changing their attitude	4
Equal pay implemented	2
Don't know	3
N = multiple responses possible	

Regarding the positive answers, the fairly large number of respondents who felt that their companies had opened up opportunities for Blacks will be encouraging to management.

Answers to a question concerning the feelings of the respondent towards his company's "Black advancement" activities elicited a matching set of responses. (Likewise with another question that asked respondents whether their companies were succeeding in their "Black advancement" efforts.) In the nineteen instances in which respondents answered in a positive manner, many of the respondents remarked that they had seen opportunities in the form of training and positions opening up for Blacks in their time while a smaller number commented on a change in attitude or a growth in the company's commitment.

The table below lists in some detail the "Black advancement" actions suggested by the respondents. It is clear that our respondents see the importance of the role of education and training in putting any opportunities to good use - these three items head the list. Many of the suggestions come as no surprise but a few stand out as being worthy of attention. Despite the small number of responses attributed to them, several items indicate a strong need for a more humanistic approach in

the workplace, the suggestion for improved communication, the need for encouragement, social integration and fair treatment. Other items, such as the need to match people with jobs and for job satisfaction, suggest the important place that work occupies in our respondents' lives.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE FUTURE

Towards the end of the interview, respondents were asked how they felt about the progress they had made and what opportunities they saw for themselves in the future (see Table 24).

The majority of responses in the categories "would have done better if White/had opportunities" and "No progress" were made by cashiers and clerical employees in an organization where discrimination was perceived to be high. The social ramifications of and significance attached to upward mobility are especially well illustrated by the following comment from a clerical employee working for an organization in which discrimination was perceived to be high: "I am proud. People who schooled with me are surprised when I tell them what I am doing. I also serve on a community committee and others think of me as being well-read. I think if I were given more opportunities I can go far".

Of the twenty respondents who felt optimistic about their opportunities for the future, it is perhaps worth mentioning that six were already employed in a supervisory capacity in a small manufacturing company and had expressed a desire to reach a foreman or general foreman level in the company. The interviewer gained the impression throughout the interviews with these respondents that, because many of the answers were so similar, even to the point of a similarity in terminology, and as the respondents had either attended or were attending a supervisors training programme, the responses possibly reflected a thorough internalization of the values and goal-orientations transmitted by the course. In passing one may ask whether it is perhaps appropriate to inculcate such a strong achievement orientation when there may not be the positions available to accommodate these aspirations. On the other hand, these responses may reflect nothing more than a desire to meet expectations thought to be held by the interviewer.

TABLE 23

RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF WHAT THEIR COMPANY SHOULD BE DOING WITH RESPECT TO BLACK ADVANCEMENT

Suggested action	No. of responses
Promotion/equal opportunity/give Blacks a chance	14
Educational assistance	12
Training	11
Housing assistance	8
Improve salaries	6
Improve communication with Blacks in the organization	5
Assist with education/training external to the company	4
Improve the matching of people with jobs	4
Change attitudes	4
Encourage Blacks in their jobs	4
Treat Blacks fairly	3
Introduce a job grading/evaluation system	3
Enhance job satisfaction/job rotation	3
Provide equal facilities	3
Allow time for further studies	2
Provide loans	1
Institute merit increases	1
Improve social activities at work	1
Don't know	7

N = multiple responses possible

TABLE 24

RESPONDENTS' FEELINGS ABOUT PROGRESS MADE IN THE COMPANY

Response	No. of responses
Happy with progress made	19
Happy, but room for improvement	5
Fair	3
Fair, but room for improvement	1
Mixed	1
Would have done better if White/had opportunities	10
Learned something in the job	6
Progress slow	6
No progress	8
No data	3
N = 62	

TABLE 25

RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE OPPORTUNITIES LYING AHEAD OF THEM

Response type	No. of responses
Optimistic/opportunities available	20
Training/qualifications needed first	6
Reached highest level already	4
None/bleak outlook	17
Don't know/not sure	8
Depends on opportunities and situation	3
No data	4
N = 62	

A large number of respondents felt that the prospects for advancement in their company were bleak. Only one of these respondents mentioned a lack of qualifications as a possible reason; the majority felt that there were simply no opportunities for Blacks to advance themselves in the companies. Predictably, cashiers and clerks are among these respondents but technicians also responded in this manner. These responses reinforce the impressions gained from the earlier question in

which ten respondents reported feeling that, had they been White, they would have made better progress in the company. A clerk said: "I feel proud in that I showed them that I have the initiative and capability but disappointed in that if I were a White I would have had a better job position ... The future is very bleak if I stay here".

The final category of the table encompasses responses mentioning the availability of positions in the company, the attitude of individual managerial personnel and the availability of opportunities to move upwards.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Part 3 of the Human Sciences Research Council investigation into occupational mobility and wage differentiation in South Africa has taken the form of a multi-faceted examination of these issues at the micro-level. The indepth study of a number of South African companies included the collection of numerical data and the holding of interviews with representatives of management, Black employees in traditionally White jobs - that is, jobs that five to ten years ago would usually have been occupied by Whites - and the immediate superiors of this latter category of employee.

The numerical data collected to assess the extent of Black occupational mobility in the organizations concerned confirm the findings outlined in Part One of this study (Human et al., 1984). Relatively few Black managers were employed by the organizations and those that were tended to be found in personnel or industrial relations functions. These are frequently positions that entail contact with and authority over mainly other Black employees. Yet, the presence of a small number of Africans in junior accounting and administrative positions indicates that we may find African managers of these central functions of organizations in the future.

Considerably greater numbers of Blacks were found in supervisory positions. The use of this general category, however, obscures the fact that these positions vary considerably with regard to the amount of authority, responsibility, skill and status involved. While the movement of Blacks into these formerly White positions is not insignificant, the nature of the position should be borne in mind when interpreting this fact.

Increasing numbers of Blacks are finding employment in white-collar clerical positions. Again, the category is a broad one and there is evidence to suggest that much clerical work is undergoing a process of deskilling (Braverman, 1974). Opportunities for upward mobility do

exist especially if the employee equips himself with additional and relevant qualifications. Somewhat fewer Blacks, particularly Africans, were found in positions that required communication and contact with the public.

The use of job grades or job groups in the construction of the tables in Chapter three obscures details about the nature of some of the positions into which Blacks are moving. For example, several Black employees were found in positions of a technical nature that required some minimum qualification in mathematics or the natural sciences.

In the absence of information on job-relevant characteristics for the employees of the organizations studied, no definite conclusions regarding wage discrimination may be drawn from the data presented in Chapter three.

It is clear from the interviews that were held with the representatives of management that the major factor behind the decision to open up opportunities for Blacks was a shortage of labour. The shortages provide both an opportunity for management to move Blacks into positions usually occupied by Whites and a legitimate reason for doing so. The influence of the Board of Directors was also thought to be a crucially important factor and it is encouraging to note that the example set by other companies in the field of "Black advancement" is a not inconsiderable influence.

Despite little or nothing having been done to prepare White employees for Black upgrading, a White backlash did not materialize either to the extent or with the force with which it was anticipated. White reaction and adjustment nonetheless remained an area of concern for management. Negative White attitudes were felt to contribute to the discrepancy that existed between enlightened intention with regard to "Black advancement" and its actual implementation. Other factors thought to contribute to this discrepancy included a lack of understanding of the importance of "Black advancement" among lower-level White managers and the difficulty of maintaining the momentum of "Black advancement" strategies.

The majority of employers were strongly committed to the principle of equal opportunity and firmly rejected the notion of reverse discrimination even though, in some cases, such practices had or presently existed in the organization. In many cases, adherence to the principle of equal opportunity was thought to obviate the need for goal setting and monitoring of progress with regard to "Black advancement". It was also recognized that a range of factors from unequal standards of education to the implementation of the Group Areas Act, prevented the attainment of the equal opportunity principle.

The immediate superiors of our Black respondents who were employed in traditionally White jobs themselves occupied supervisory positions that varied considerably with regard to seniority and status. How a supervisor feels about his company's policy of "Black advancement" would appear to be determined by his level of seniority, with the more senior supervisors having a more positive attitude and the more junior supervisors being less enthusiastic. In the lower grade supervisory position the mechanism of race has been most widely used to effect social closure and it is here that it is now being most rapidly eroded. Respondents in the more senior supervisory positions are protected to a greater extent against job encroachment by the possession of educational qualifications and credentials which continue to regulate access to their positions; hence their greater acceptance of the notion and practice of "Black advancement." It is encouraging to note that, despite the reservations expressed by lower-level supervisors, the majority of the respondents felt that their company was nonetheless doing the right thing with regard to "Black advancement."

A number of Black employees in traditionally White positions were interviewed in order to obtain information about their experiences of upward mobility. Approximately half the respondents felt that being Black made it more difficult for them to do their job while the majority felt that they had to try harder than an equivalent White would have in order to prove their worth to the organization. Although the incidence of perceived discrimination was relatively high, on the whole, Black respondents felt that the White backlash had been minimal. Whites were seen as being able to adjust to a racially integrated work

situation if not to the prospects of broader social and political integration. Perceptions of what their company was doing with regard to "Black advancement", of their own progress in the company and of the opportunities lying ahead of them were split fairly evenly between positive and negative orientations. The discrepancy between these perceptions and managements' assessment of their own performance in this field as having been relatively successful serves to act as a reminder that considerable ground has still to be covered before the ideal of an open and non-discriminatory labour market is achieved.

In addition to being characterized by the gross racial inequalities of wealth and power, South Africa may be said to be beset by a number of contradictions, the most fundamental of these being that between the demands of capital and the requirements and consequences of apartheid policy and practice. The changes that have occurred over the last decade or so, and that are taking place now are attempts to resolve these contradictions and to pave the way for a somewhat more open class based society.

The findings of this study reflect at the level of the organization and the individual some of the contradictions typical of a society in transition. For White employees, the adoption of achievement based, universalistic criteria in the labour market heralds the end of the protection they enjoyed from both competition and social interaction. How have they reacted to this? Undoubtedly, they will be equipping their children, if not themselves, for better positions in a future society in which colour will no longer guarantee a job, money and status. In the workplace they have accepted the inevitability of the changes and would seem to have accommodated themselves to the social relationships demanded working in an integrated environment. In the majority of cases, managers, supervisors and Blacks themselves reported a minimal and usually short-lived White backlash. However, the racial stereotypes persist and form the basis for much of the behaviour of and many of the attitudes of Whites to Blacks in the non-working environment.

For some Blacks the new lines of status differentiation that are in the process of being drawn and are becoming institutionalized, are accepted with difficulty. While Black society has never been a monolithic entity, changes in the wider common economy are changing the bases of differentiation. Some Blacks, those who are upwardly mobile, experience the discrepancies between the norms, values and practices of the workplace and the home/township environment and must develop ways of managing authority and dealing with other Blacks in the workplace. For yet other Blacks in traditionally White spheres of employment, the contradictions of our society manifest themselves in the incongruous demands made upon them in the workplace. The reader need only recall the case of the clerks who were expected to undertake tasks reminiscent of the servant status of many Blacks of earlier generations.

Management teams themselves must devise ways of overcoming the contradictions that exist in many companies between the prescriptions of their policies and the attitudes and interests of lower-level managers and supervisors.

It remains for a larger, more representative study to pinpoint the determinants of success. What this study has shown is that performance and success are difficult to assess. Factors such as the type of industry, the location and size of the organization, the extent to which legislation affects the use of Black labour, the accuracy of selection and job placement procedures, managerial commitment and the climate of the organization obviously play a role. In addition to commitment, "Black advancement" is facilitated by a number of managerial practices. Firstly, any programme should be accorded a high profile and high status within the organization as this is likely to serve as a constant reminder to lower levels of management and, in the case of large or dispersed organizations, organizational units other than the Head Office, of the importance attached to "Black advancement" as an objective. Secondly, goal setting and monitoring would seem to be helpful in giving direction to management and in preventing lapses in commitment and performance. Thirdly, communication of company policy - the principles and the way it is to be implemented - should be clearly communicated to all staff. Lack of clarity would seem to be fertile

ground for the perpetuation of negative attitudes among both Black and White alike. If a company is not discriminating in respect of wages it should nonetheless make the grounds for differences between salaries quite clear, and so dispel any suspicion of discrimination. Fourthly, management should develop a sensitivity to the more subtle forms which discrimination takes, namely differences in the standard of facilities and expectations for job performance. We might add the need to be sensitive to the problems that Blacks experience in their work and their emotional needs.

Further research is indicated in at least two areas. The first is that of White attitudes and changes therein and the second concerns attitudes among Black employees. Here the problem concerns the perceptions of and attitudes to Blacks occupying positions of authority. Related to this could be an investigation of the ways in which Blacks in these positions perceive and manage the situation.

APPENDIX A

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COMPANIES THAT PARTICIPATED IN THE STUDY

Company A	A small to medium-sized manufacturer of electrical appliances
Company B	A relatively independent division of a large bank
Company C	A company involved in the sales, distribution and service of electrical appliances
Company D	A medium-sized motor car manufacturer
Company E	A large mining-finance house
Company F	A supermarket
Company G	The head office of a supermarket chain

APPENDIX B

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BLACK RESPONDENTS IN TRADITIONALLY WHITE JOBS

Although representativeness was not a major concern of this study, an attempt was made to obtain a range of respondents.

Of the sixty-two respondents, forty belonged to the African population group, eight to the Asian group and fourteen to the Coloured group. Sixty-three per cent were male. Ages ranged from the early twenties to the late forties.

A more significant criterion for selection was the position occupied by the employee in the organization. Our definition of a traditionally White job was deliberately loose and this accounts for the wide range of positions listed below:

- accounting assistant
- accounting clerk
- assistant admin. officer
- assistant to manager
- cashier
- clerk
- clerical assistant - accounts
- costing clerk
- computer operator
- expeditor and purchaser
- graduate admin. assistant
- stock-taking and reconciliation clerk
- supervisor (clerical)
- switchboard operator
- technician
- typist and general office routine
- handyman
- industrial relations training officer
- personnel clerk
- personnel officer
- postal supervisor
- regional general manager
- saleslady
- secretary
- secretary - departmental
- secretary to senior manager
- supervisor (production)
- systems researcher
- till supervisor

Length of service in the companies varied from one to twenty years.

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